

AN
Interesting Narrative
OF THE
TRAVELS of JAMES BRUCE, Esq. *K*
INTO
ABYSSINIA,
TO DISCOVER THE
SOURCE OF THE NILE:
ABRIDGED FROM THE ORIGINAL WORK.
TO WHICH ARE ADDED,
NOTES AND EXTRACTS,
FROM THE TRAVELS OF DR. SHAW, M. SAVARY,
AND THE
MEMOIRS OF BARON DE TOTT.

Second American Edition ; being a literal copy of the English.



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BRITISH MUSEUM



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PREFACE.

NO BOOKS are more generally or more eagerly read than voyages and travels. They are recommended by every circumstance that can excite curiosity, or engage attention. They unite, in a singular manner, the opposite beauties of unity and variety. We attend the traveller over seas, islands, and continents; from the scene of events illustrious in the annals of antiquity, he conducts us to visit places distinguished by some great transactions of modern times; from wars and battles, he turns to agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; with the detail of his adventures, he interweaves the history of science, laws, arts, and manners; with facts in general history, he communicates anecdotes, and exhibits portraits of private characters: Yet the hero of the tale is still the same; the author and the hero are one; his design is not fully accomplished till the termination of his travels.

Even in this age, while a spirit of discovery is so generally prevalent, when so many voyages have been made to explore the remotest parts of the globe, and so many enterprising travellers have penetrated into regions before unknown,—scarce have any travels been so impatiently expected by the public, or any adventures so eagerly inquired after, as those of Mr. BRUCE.

Concerning Abyssinia the ancients had communicated only a few dark imperfect hints, which served to excite curiosity, but afforded nothing to gratify it. In that vast country, they imagined the sources of the Nile to be concealed ; the laws of nature were there suspected to vary in their operation ; it was thought to be inhabited by monstrous animals, and savage tribes of men, singularly distinguished from the rest of the world by aspect, dispositions, and manners.

Inquiry or accident had, indeed, made the moderns somewhat better acquainted with that part of Africa. Christianity was accidentally introduced there, and the circumstances of its introduction drew upon Abyssinia the attention of the rest of the Christian world ; as its establishment occasioned a regular intercourse between the Christians of Abyssinia and those of Egypt. The Portuguese had afterwards found their way thither, associated with the natives, and taken a part in their civil dissensions. They had carried not only soldiers, but Jesuits into that country ; and had the Jesuits been men of more enlightened minds, and less infuriated by blind zeal, they might possibly have contributed to civilize the rude ferocity of the Abyssinians ; and, at the same time, might have explored the topography of their country, observed their customs and manners, and traced their history. But the object of the Jesuits was to extend the influence of the See of Rome, not to illustrate the history of the regions into which they penetrated. The facts which they communicate are almost always suspicious ; for we know them to have been sometimes careless in their inquiries, and often disposed to disguise or conceal the truth.

To

To discover, therefore, many particulars, concerning which no information had been received, to detect falsehood, to explore fables, and to ascertain truths,—to add, in short, another part to the history of society, and to enlarge, as it were, the limits of the known world—was a task which remained to be performed by some traveller into Abyssinia.

When the public were informed, upon Mr. BRUCE's return into Europe, that he had accomplished this task; having undertaken it out of curiosity, benevolence, and a love of enterprize, and having, in the prosecution of his undertaking, braved dangers, and surmounted difficulties, which, to a man of barely ordinary prudence and intrepidity, must have proved absolutely insuperable; the account was heard with a mixture of wonder and incredulity, which produced a very impatient and anxious expectation of a particular narrative of his travels. Although the publication of such a narrative was long delayed, yet the suspicious hints which were, from time to time, invidiously thrown out by his enemies*, the candid remonstrances

* The following remark of Baron de Tott, seems to have been wantonly thrown out to prepare the world for receiving Mr. Bruce's narrative with suspicion, and has not entirely failed of its effect :

A traveller of the name of Bruce, pretends, I am told, to have discovered them.—I saw at Cairo the servant he took with him; the guide who conducted him; the companion of his journey. I thoroughly ascertained the fact, that he had no knowledge whatever of this discovery; in answer to which, it can only be said, that so learned a man as Mr. Bruce was not obliged to give an account of his observations to his valet. The pride of celebrity is lost in a desert; the distinction

ees and defences urged by his friends*, and the novelty and importance of the information which he had to communicate, still kept up the expectation of the public, and prepared them to receive and examine his

distinction of master and servant disappear before the wants which surround them, mutually anxious, and compelled as they must be, to communicate together, and to afford each other mutual succours, the strongest alone must have the superiority over his companions ; and the valet I am speaking of, born in the country, had incontestably the best right of warranting, even to Mr. Bruce himself, a discovery merely topographical.

* The following accurate paper, said to have been written either by the Hon. Daines Barrington, or by Mr. Mason, affords a refutation of the aspersions of de Tott :

The many voyages for the better knowledge of the globe we inhabit, have been one of the most distinguished glories of the present reign.

Most of these, however, have rather been undertaken to explore very distant seas and coasts, than to procure information with regard to the interior parts of the four great continents.

In Europe even, we are not so well acquainted with districts which belong to the Turkish empire as we should be ; and we are still more ignorant in the Asiatic quarter, of that immense tract which lies between Thibet and the north-east extremity.

As for South America, we must be chiefly contented with such opportunities of access as the jealousy of the Spaniards will sometimes indulge to the curiosity of the French, though such researches are always denied to Englishmen.

The more interior parts of Africa, however, are equally open to every European nation, provided it contains travellers of enterprise and abilities ; and in this division of the globe

his narrative with general eagerness, whenever he should bring it forward.

To the entire satisfaction of his friends, and the confusion of those who invidiously traduced his character,

globe the admission to Abyssinia hath generally been supposed to be the most difficult. It is therefore much to be regretted, that when an Englishman (so eminently qualified as Mr. Bruce) hath made so long a residence in this unfrequented empire, that the public should not have yet received the very interesting information from him which he is certainly enabled to give them. It is much to be feared, indeed, that the prospect of this communication is a distant one, and perhaps only to be expected after Mr. Bruce's death, which both his make and health seem to remove the danger of for several years.

A late traveller, however, the Baron de Tott, hath insinuated that Mr. Bruce was never at the sources of the Nile, because Mr. Bruce's servant (who was with him in Abyssinia) said at Cairo, that he never accompanied his master to any such spot.

If therefore this insinuation continues uncontradicted, as well as many other reports to the prejudice of our very distinguished traveller, the publication (whenever it may take place) will not receive the entire credit, which I am persuaded it will most amply deserve.

Having therefore lately procured the means of disproving this most ill-founded insinuation of the Baron de Tott, as well as some other objections which have been circulated against the credit of Mr. Bruce's much to be expected narrative, I think that it is right such information should be early laid before the public. I must at the same time premise, that though I have the honour to be known to Mr. Bruce, yet our acquaintance is not of the most intimate kind, nor have I seen him for several years. He will not moreover receive the most distant intimation of what I am now publishing, other-

after, and questioned his veracity, he has, at length, presented the detail of his travels to the world. They are sufficiently interesting to justify the eager anxiety with which they were expected; and are marked

wise the defence (if any is requisite) would be infinitely more strong and accurate.

. James Bruce, Esq; of Kinnaird, is a gentleman of considerable family and fortune; and in 1763 was appointed Consul to Algiers, where he continued till 1765.

In June 1764, he requested leave of absence from the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, in order to make some drawings of antiquities near Tunis, for which Mr. Bruce hath very considerable talents.

In Mr. Bruce's last letter from Algiers to the same secretary, (dated December 29th, 1764,) Mr. Bruce alludes to another leave of absence, which he had likewise requested, that he might visit parts of the African continent.

How long he continued in Africa, I have not had the opportunity of procuring information, but having intentions afterwards of visiting Palmyra, he was shipwrecked on the coast of Tunis, and plundered of every thing by the barbarous inhabitants.

The most distressing part of the loss, was probably that of his instruments, so necessary to a scientific traveller; and though he afterwards procured some of these, yet others (particularly a quadrant) could not be recovered.

Mr. Bruce, however, determining to repair this loss as soon as possible from France, so much nearer to him than England, was so fortunate as to be provided with a time-piece and quadrant from that quarter.

Where he continued after his shipwreck, I have not heard with any degree of accuracy; but on the 28th of January, 1768, he was at a French house in Aleppo, by which route he probably returned from Palmyra.

Where

marked with such an air of truth, that no man of understanding and candour, who reads over the work, will ever hesitate to receive the facts which it relates, as fully authentic. Although it should be allowed, that

Where and when Mr. Bruce received the French instruments is not known ; but as he was still bent on visiting Abyssinia, he gave a commission to Mr. W. Ruffel, F. R. S. for a reflecting telescope, made by *Bird* or *Short*, a watch with a hand to point seconds, and the newest and completest English Astronomical Tables ; all of which were to be sent to Mr. Fremaux, and forwarded to him at Alexandria before August.

On the 29th of March, 1768, Mr. Bruce was at Sidon, on the coast of Syria, and wrote to Mr. Ruffel from thence for the following additional instruments, viz. a twelve-foot reflecting telescope, to be divided into pieces of 3 feet and joined with screws. This telescope was also accompanied by two thermometers and two portable barometers. Mr. Bruce moreover informed Mr. Ruffel, that he was going into a country (viz. Abyssinia) from which few travellers had returned ; and wished Mr. Ruffel, or his philosophical friends, would send him their desiderata, as he was entirely at their service. Mr. Bruce added, that if he could not obtain admission into Abyssinia, he still would do his best in the cause of science on the eastern coast of the Red Sea.

As Mr. Bruce had directed the instruments to be ready for him at Alexandria by the beginning of August 1768, it is probable that he reached Cairo about that time ; from whence he proceeded to Abyssinia, by way of Jedda, Mazava, and Arquito.

Whilst Mr. Bruce was at Jedda, he was met by some English gentlemen returning from the East-Indies ; amongst whom was Mr. Newland, who hath published a map of the Red Sea, and who availed himself of Mr. Bruce's observations to fix the situation of that port.

It is supposed that Mr. Bruce did not continue long at Jedda, as he is said to have explored the coast on the east side

that the very quotations which Mr. BRUCE adduces to prove that no other European ever-visited the sources of the Nile, shew the Jesuits to have before penetrated to the very spot where he has placed them ;
though

as low as Mocha, during which drawings were taken of many curious fish in the *Red Sea*. Mr. Bruce must also have entered Abyssinia, either at the latter end of 1768, or the very beginning of 1769, as he made an observation in that part of Africa on the 15th of January of that year.

In this perilous enterprise he was accompanied by a Greek servant (named *Michael*) and an Italian painter, who probably assisted in the numerous articles which might deserve representation, and who died of a flux before Mr. Bruce's return to Cairo in 1773.

Mr. Bruce must at times also have been assisted by many others, as his instruments, apparatus for drawing, and other necessities, from their weight and bulk, could not be easily transported from place to place, and perhaps required beasts of burden. To these likewise must be added several medicines which enabled him to perform cures on the inhabitants, and probably occasioned the good reception he afterwards met with.

I shall leave such other particulars as happened to Mr. Bruce, during his long residence in this unfrequented country, to his own superior narrative ; and shall therefore only state, that he made a large number of observations to fix the situations of places, out of which thirty-one have been examined and computed by the astronomer royal. The first of these observations was made on the 10th of January 1769, and the last on the 5th of October 1772, from 30 to 28 degrees of east longitude from Greenwich, and from 12 to 28 degrees of north latitude. It need scarcely be said therefore, that these observations, which include so large an extent of almost unknown country, must prove a most valuable addition to geography ; and the more so because the Portuguese, who first-visited Abyssinia, give neither longitude nor latitude of any place

though he were justly blamed of being fonder of egotisms, that favorite mode of expression with travellers, than almost any other traveller; though we may smile when he boasts of the same intimacy with the

place in that empire; and Poncet only two latitudes, viz. those of Sennar and Giesum.

As Mr. Bruce made the last of his observations on the 5th of October 1772, it is probable that he might then be on his return to Cairo, through Nubia and Upper Egypt, where he arrived on the 15th of January 1773, after an absence of more than four years; bringing back with him his Greek servant, named Michael.

Mr. Bruce continued at Cairo four months, during which time he had daily intercourse with Mr. Antes; the substance of a letter from whom will contain the principal confutation of Baron Tott, and others, who have been incredulous with regard to Mr. Bruce's expected narrative.

Mr. Antes was born of German parents, who were possessed of lands in the back settlements of Pennsylvania; and having showed early abilities as a mechanic, removed to Europe, where he distinguished himself in the art of watch-making, which he learned without apprenticeship. Being a member of the church known by the name of *Unitas Fratrum*, and commonly called *Moravian*, he wished to be employed in their missions, and more especially that of the same persuasion established at Cairo, who always have desired to procure opportunities of instructing the Abyssinians.

Mr. Bruce had left Cairo fifteen months before Mr. Antes came there; and the intercourse, therefore, between them first took place on Mr. Bruce's return in 1773.

Having given this account of Mr. Bruce and Mr. Antes' being first known to each other, I shall now state the substance of some information received from the latter, who is now established at Fulneck near Leeds, after having resided eleven years at Cairo.

“ That

the ladies of the royal family of Abyssinia, on which Sir Sampson values himself in Love for Love; and though the news-paper critics may amuse themselves with laughing at the absurdity of some of his political

“That Mr. Bruce left Cairo in 1768, and proceeded thence by way of Jedda, Mazava, and Arquito, into Abyssinia.

“That in 1771, a Greek came from Gondar in Abyssinia, who had a draft from Mr. Bruce on a French merchant at Cairo (named *Rose*) for some hundreds of German crowns, which were paid immediately. This draft was accompanied by a letter from Mr. Bruce, and was the first time that he had been heard of at Cairo since his departure in 1768.

“That after Mr. Bruce's return to Cairo in 1773, Mr. Antes saw a young Armenian and his father (who came likewise from Gondar) at Mr. Pini's, an Italian merchant of Cairo, where they and Mr. Bruce, conversed in the Abyssinian language, and seemed glad to meet him again.

“That Mr. Bruce returned to Cairo from Abyssinia by way of Nubia and Upper Egypt; which can be fully attested by the Franciscan friars who are established at Isue near Asyuan, which latter is the highest town of Upper Egypt.

“That during Mr. Bruce's stay at Cairo, which was not less than four months, no day passed without their seeing each other, which gave Mr. Antes frequent opportunities of inquiring with regard to Abyssinia, concerning which he was particularly interessed from a reason before stated.

“That Mr. Antes likewise frequently conversed with Michael, Mr. Bruce's Greek servant, who is stated to have by no means had a lively imagination, and who always agreed with the circumstances mentioned by his master, and more particularly in relation to their having visited the sources of the Nile, which the Baron Tott doubts of, from having had a conversation with this same Greek servant.”

Mr. Antes adds, “That Baron Tott staid but a few days

at

cal opinions, or exposing the inaccuracy of his astronomical calculations ; and the friends of Sparrman may wish, that in censuring that enthusiastic and indefatigable student of nature, he had, at least used language

at Cairo : and from his short residence in that country, hath given several erroneous accounts relative to Egypt. Mr. Antes on the other hand, had almost daily conversations with Michael for several years, and often in relation to the sources of the Nile."

Lastly, " That after Mr. Bruce left Cairo, Mr. Antes had conversed with others who had known Mr. Bruce in Abyssinia, and that he was there called *Maalim Jakube*, or Mr. James."

After this state of facts, I conceive that no one can entertain a reasonable doubt with regard to Mr. Bruce's not only having visited, but resided long in Abyssinia ; though it is remarkable that the Jesuits expressed the same doubts in relation to Ponce, who had continued there nearly as long as Mr. Bruce. Ponce happened to be a layman ; and the Jesuits, perhaps, would not approve of any narrative that did not come from father Benevent who accompanied Ponce to Abyssinia, but unfortunately died there.

Driven, however, from this hold, the objectors will possibly retain their incredulity as to many particulars to be related, which I will shortly endeavour to answer, at least in regard to two of the principal ones, which are often much dwelt upon.

The first of these is, the having visited the sources of the Nile, which, from classical education, we cannot easily believe, as they were unknown to the ancients, though they had so great curiosity with regard to this discovery.

Many things, however, have been accomplished by travellers in modern times, which the ancients never could achieve, and which may be attributed to their want of enterprise (as travellers at least) of languages, and lastly, the not being able to procure credit when in a distant country. Mr. Bruce could not have

continued

language not unworthy of a gentleman : yet, his lively description of the manners of the Abyssinians, so happily blended with his own adventures ; his accurate geography of the Red Sea ; the activity, firmness,

continued so long as he did in Abyssinia, unless he had drawn from Gondar upon a merchant established at Cairo.

The difficulty, however, with regard to reaching the sources of the Nile, arises principally from the uncivilised state of Abyssinia, unless the traveller hath a proper introduction. When once this is procured, all difficulties seem to cease, as we find by Lobo's account of this same discovery, and likewise by Poncet's narrative, who was prevented by illness from visiting the very spot, but hath given an ample relation from an Abyssinian who had often been there. Poncet, moreover, had obtained leave from the Emperor to make this journey, which he states as not being a distant one, and that the Emperor hath a palace near the very sources.

If it be doubted whether Mr. Bruce has visited every source of the Nile, I answer, that perhaps no Englishman hath taken this trouble with regard to the sources of the Thames, which, like most other great rivers, is probably derived from many springs and rills in different directions.

The other objection which I have often heard, is, That Mr. Bruce hath mentioned in conversation, that the Abyssinians cut a slice from the living ox, esteeming it one of their greatest delicacies.

This sort of dainty indeed is not so considered in other parts of the globe ; but every nation almost hath its peculiarities in the choice of their food.

Do not we eat raw oysters within a second of their being separated from the shell ? And do not we roast both them and lobsters whilst alive, the barbarity of which practice seems to equal that of the Abyssinians ? Do not cooks skin eels whilst alive ? And do not epicures crimp fish for the gratification of their appetites ?

That

ness, invincible perseverance, and vigour of mind which necessarily mark the character of a man who has accomplished such adventures, and not the less strikingly for his displaying them with little of modest delicacy

That the Abyssinians eat beef in a raw state is agreed, by both Lobo and Poncet; and the former says *reeking* from the beast. Mr. Antes moreover was told by a Franciscan monk, who went with the caravan from Abyssinia to Cairo, that he was witness of an ox being killed, and immediately devoured by the band of travellers.

One reason, perhaps, for this usage may be, the great heat of the climate, which will not permit meat to be kept a sufficient time to make it tender (as with us); and it is generally allowed, that a fowl, dressed immediately after it is killed, is in better order for eating, than if it is kept four and twenty hours.

Is it therefore extraordinary, that an Abyssinian epicure may really find (or perhaps fancy) that a piece cut from the beast whilst alive, may be more tender or have a better relish than if it is previously killed by the butcher? To this I must add, that according to the information which I have received on this head, Mr. Bruce's account of this practice is much misrepresented by the objectors, who suppose that the ox lives a considerable time after these pieces are cut from it. When these dainty bits, however, have been sent to the great man's table (and which are probably taken from the fleshy parts) the beast soon afterwards expires, when the first artery is cut, in providing slices for the numerous attendants.

Upon the whole, the not giving credit to a traveller, because he mentions an usage which is very different from ours (and is undoubtedly very barbarous) seems rather to argue ignorance than acuteness.

This brings to my recollection the incredulity which was shewn to another distinguished traveller, Dr. Shaw, who having mentioned, in an Oxford common room, that some of the Algerines were fond of lion's flesh, never could obtain

delicacy in his narrative ; the new and strong light with which he has illustrated several passages in the sacred writing which had baffled all former attempts to explain them ;--in short, the peculiarities in the character

any credit afterwards from his brother-fellows of the same college, though many of them were learned men.

It is well known, however, though Dr. Shaw states this same circumstance in the publication of his travels, that he is cited with the greatest approbation in almost every part of Europe.

The natural cause and progress of the incredulity which a traveller generally experiences, seems to be the following :—

When he returns from a distant, and little frequented country, every one is impatient to hear his narrative, from which, of course, he selects the most striking parts, and particularly the usages which differ most from our own. Some of the audience, disbelieving what the traveller hath mentioned, put questions to him which show their distrust. The traveller by this treatment becomes irritated, and answers some of them peevishly, others ironically, of which the interrogators afterwards take advantage to his prejudice.

I have been at the trouble of collecting these facts, and which I have endeavoured to enforce by such observations as occurred, from being truly desirous of seeing Mr. Bruce's account of Abyssinia, who is certainly no common traveller, nor can the publication be a superficial one, as he resided there so long.

That Mr. Bruce hath great talents for the information of his readers, appears by his dissertation on the Theban harp, which Dr. Burney hath inserted in the first volume of his History of Music, and in which Mr. Bruce also mentions several of the Abyssinian instruments. Mr. Bruce, moreover, is said to have a great facility in learning languages, and talents for drawing, nor perhaps was any other traveller furnished with so large and scientific an apparatus of instruments. This I will

character of the author, and the singular difficulty and utility of his undertaking, must long ensure to his work an high rank among books of the same nature, and to himself, that reputation for boldness, versatility, and energy of mind which he has so dearly earned.

His volumes have now been some months in the hands of the public: but eager as most people were to peruse them, their number, size, and the high price

will add, that Mr. Bruce's spirit and enterprise will not be easily equalled.

If I can therefore be the least instrumental in the earlier production of so interesting an account of an almost unfrequented part of Africa, my pains will be amply repaid.

As this is my sole view in what is here laid before the public, I am not under the obligation of making apologies to any one but to Mr. Bruce himself, who perhaps may not have occasion to thank me for undertaking his defence, to which he is so much more equal in most respects.

A defence, however, from himself merely, will never be a complete one with those who are incredulous, because it must depend upon assertions, as there is perhaps no other person in Europe who ever was in Abyssinia.

If a traveller describes a country frequented by others, he is liable to contradiction, and may be soon detected by the cross examination of those who have been equally eye-witnesses as himself. But where is the traveller to be found, who hath braved the dangers that must have surrounded Mr. Bruce during four years residence in a barbarous empire?

Mr. Bruce himself, moreover, hath not the means of refuting the groundless insinuations of Baron Tott, which I have happened to procure, and which indeed have been the principal cause of my entering into this controversy.

price at which they are necessarily sold, have hitherto prevented many from gratifying their curiosity. Nor does it appear, that they can be readily reduced, even though printed on a coarser paper, in a smaller type, and in a different form, to such a price, that all who wish to read, may conveniently enough purchase. We may therefore hope to be justified in offering this abridgement to the public. It has not been eagerly produced to injure the circulation of the original work. It is designed to extend Mr. Bruce's fame, to render the new information which his book affords more generally useful ; and thus to promote the chief purposes for which he may be supposed to have given his book to the world.

INTRODUCTION.

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INTRODUCTION.

MR. BRUCE, after a tour through the greatest part of Europe, was preparing to retire to his paternal estate, and embrace a life of retirement and study, when he was informed by his friend, Mr. Wood, that Lord Chatham meant to employ him in a particular piece of service. He was highly flattered with the idea of being esteemed by Lord Chatham worthy of such employment though so young. But he had scarce made himself ready to receive his Lordship's orders when that minister resigned, and his hopes of employment under him were, of consequence, disappointed.

After seven or eight months of expensive attendance, and fruitless expectations from other ministers, it was at length proposed to him by Lord Halifax, to visit the coast of Barbary, explore the geography and curiosities of that part of Africa, and make draughts of the large and magnificent remains of ancient buildings which it was said to contain. Hints were dropped how desirable an object it would be to penetrate to the sources of the Nile; but the enterprise was regarded as too arduous to be absolutely required of him. He was at the same time encouraged by the promise of liberal patronage, to engage in an undertaking which, if successfully accomplished, could not fail to do honour to the reign of the sovereign who had newly ascended the throne.

At the very period when this proposal was made, the consulship of the British nation at Algiers happening to become vacant, by the death of the consul, Mr. Bruce was, by the same nobleman pressed to accept that employment, as highly favourable to the purpose of ex-

ploring Barbary. He accepted it without hesitation; hoping to have also an opportunity of observing the approaching transit of Venus at Algiers. Without loss of time, he furnished himself with the necessary apparatus of instruments, set out for Italy, through France, and after visiting Rome and Naples, embarked at Leghorn for Algiers.

Arrived at Algiers, he found that his undertaking would require a still greater variety of instruments, and the co-operation of some assistants. He wrote accordingly to Italy, particularly for a smaller camera obscura than that which he had carried with him, and for some young men acquainted with architecture and drawing. A native of Bologna, Luigi Balugani, was prevailed with to engage in his service. That young man's skill in drawing was, however, very imperfect, although with Mr. Bruce's instruction, he improved so as to be of considerable use to him.

His next object was to make himself master of the Arabic language. This he accomplished, by assiduous study, and frequent conversation with the natives, in about a year's residence at Algiers.

When thus prepared, his journey into the interior parts of Africa was for some time retarded by the duties of his office as consul. The interval he spent chiefly in gaining some knowledge of medicine and surgery, from Mr. Ball, the king's surgeon at Algiers; knowing that the character of physician would recommend him better than any other to the barbarous nations among whom he was to travel. He had also availed himself of the lessons of a Greek priest, who taught him the pronounciation and accentuation of the Greek language, in which he was before as perfectly skilled as any person could possibly be without the assistance of such an instructor. He found that the modern Greek spoken and written in the Archipelago differs not in purity from the Greek of Xenophon and Homer. It is only because English scholars know not how to pronounce the ancient Greek, that they fancy it different from the modern*.

Our

* This is perhaps one of the most singular and dubious facts which Mr. Bruce asserts.

Our traveller was at length at liberty to leave Algiers, and being furnished by the Dey with orders in his favour, to all the officers in that prince's own dominions who could be of use to him, and with recommendatory letters to the Beys of Tunis and Tripoli, states over which the circumstances of the times had given the Dey of Algiers considerable influence; he set sail from that port, first to Mahon, and thence to Bona on the African coast.

Bona, the ancient Aphrodisium, stands on an extensive plain, a part of which appears to have been once overflowed by the sea. In plentiful years, the traders of Bona, by the permission of the government of Algiers, export considerable quantities of wheat. From Bona, proceeding along the coast, Mr. Bruce next passed the small island of Tabarca, lately a fortification belonging to the Genoese, but now in the hands of the regency of Tunis. The island is famous for a coral fishery. On the opposite coast appear immense forests of oaks, which, if the quality of the wood be equal to the size and beauty of the tree, might supply timber for the navies of all the maritime powers in the Levant.

From Tabarca, Our traveller sailed to Biscerta, the Hipparisus of antiquity, where he went on shore, and out of respect to the memory of Cato, travelled to visit Utica. Of that celebrated city nothing but a heap of rubbish remains, but the trenches of the ancient besiegers still appear.

Continuing his voyage along the coast, he next doubled the Cape Carthage, and anchored before Goletta, now no longer that almost impregnable fortress, which it was in the days of the Emperor Charles V. In the bay between the Cape and Goletta, he saw several buildings and columns, remains of ancient Carthage, under water. Tunis, at the distance of twelve miles, is a large flourishing city; in a low, hot, and damp situation, indeed, and destitute of good water, but under a milder government, and inhabited by more civilized people, than Algiers.

Mr. Bruce delivering his letters to the Bey of Tunis, received permission to traverse the country in any direction. One of the Bey's ladies furnished him with a two-wheel'd covered cart,

cart, in which he secured his quadrant and telescope ; the French consul recommended to him a renegado of that nation, named Osman ; he hired ten spahis, or dragoons, excellent horsemen, and not less conspicuous as cowards ; he had besides ten servants, two of them Irishmen, deserters from Spanish regiments in Oran : And thus attended he set out on his journey into the inland country, along the river Majerda, the Bagrada of antiquity.

Passing at Bazil-bab, a triumphal arch in a bad taste, he arrived next day, at Thugga or Dugga, a large scene of ruins : among the rest were the remains of one remarkable building, a large temple of Pirian marble, in the Corinthian order, the columns fluted, and the cornice ornamented in the very best style of sculpture ; on the tympanum was represented an eagle bearing to heaven a human figure. From the inscriptions, and the circumstance of the temple having been erected by the Emperor Adrian, it seems most probable that the figures on the tympanum were intended to represent the apotheosis of the Emperor Adrian. Mr. Bruce spent fifteen days in examining and making draughts of the architecture of this temple.*

From Dugga Mr. Bruce proceeded to Keff, formerly Sicca Venerea ; and thence to Hydra, the Thunodrunum of the ancients, on the frontiers between the kingdoms of Algiers and Tunis. Hydria is inhabited by a tribe of Arabs, called Welled Side Boogannim, who are immensely rich, and pay no tribute to either Algiers or Tunis. These Arabs form a sort of religious or military order ; and their chief is a saint. By their institutions they are obliged to eat lion's flesh for their daily food. To procure this food, they need to be bold and expert hunters. The services which they perform to the neighbourhood,

* Mr. Bruce concludes his account of Thugga, with saying, that ' Dr. Shaw has given the situation of the place, without saying one word about any thing curious it contains.' But the doctor is almost as particular with respect to its curiosities as Mr. Bruce himself. ' Thugga, or Tugga, says he, by a similitude in the name, and the great variety of ruins, might be very well taken for the ancient Tucca, provided we had not found it called Thugga in the following inscriptions. It is situated upon the extremity of a small chain of hills about two miles to the southward of Tuberfoke, having been formerly supplied with water by an aqueduct. Here are several tombs, Mausolea, and the portico of a temple, very beautifully adorned with fluted columns. On the pediment of this structure there is the figure of an eagle finely displayed, &c.

neighbourhood, by destroying the lion's with which it is infested, and their character for intrepid courage, have together gained them that exemption from tribute which they enjoy. Mr. Bruce had himself an opportunity of feasting on lion's flesh, with the Welled Side Boogannim, of a he lion. The flesh was lean, tough, smelled strongly of musk, and tasted, as he imagines the flesh of an old horse would taste. The flesh of a she lion was fatter, and somewhat less disagreeable: that of a whelp, six or seven months old, tasted worse than that of either the lioness or the old lion*.

From Hydra Mr. Bruce passed to the ancient Tipasa, an extensive scene of ruins. Draughts which he took of a temple, and a four-faced triumphal arch of the Corinthian order among those ruins, are now in the king's collection.

Crossing the river Myskianah, he proceeded from Tipasa, through a beautiful and well cultivated country, into the eastern province of Algiers, now called Constantina. Its capital Constantina is the ancient Cir: it stands on a high, gloomy and tremendous precipice: part of the ancient aqueduct still remaining, now pours the water with which it once supplied the city from the top of a cliff into a chasm four hundred feet below.

Mr. Bruce, after refreshing himself in the Bey's palace in Constantina, joined him in his camp, near Seteef, the Sitifi of antiquity; where he was with an army of twelve thousand men, and four pieces of cannon, making war with the Haneishah, the most powerful tribe of Arabs in that province.

Leaving the Bey, with letters of recommendation from that prince, he proceeded next to Taggou-zaina, anciently Diana Veteranorum, as appears from an inscription on a triumphal arch still remaining there.

Medrassem, the burying place of the ancient kings of Numidia, was the next place that attracted his notice. He made a drawing of that superb pile of building, which he still retains in his collection. From Medrassem he continued his journey

* Dr. Shaw says lion's flesh is esteemed very delicate eating by the Arabs, and has the taste and flavour of veal.

journey south-east to Jibbel Aurez, the Mons Aurafius of the middle age. It is an assemblage of craggy cliffs.

In this tract of country our traveller was much surprised to find a tribe with red hair and blue eyes, who, though not fair like the English, were of a shade lighter than the inhabitants of any country to the southward of Britain. They are a savage independent race; and though Mr. Bruce approached in safety, they are generally hostile to all around them. They are called Neardie. They have among the mountains huts of mud and straw; and may perhaps be a remnant of Vandals. They acknowledged their ancestors to have been Christians, and seemed proud of the circumstance.

In this neighbourhood is situated the Lambesa of Ptolemy, now called Terzoutei. It exhibits extensive ruins: seven of the city-gates are still standing, and large masses of the walls of square masonry without lime: the other buildings are of different ages. A building which seemed to have been intended for some military purpose, was supported by columns of the Corinthian order.

At Cassareen, the ancient Colonia Scillitana, Mr. Bruce suffered both from hunger and fear. The country was rugged, barren and thinly inhabited; the inhabitants were a rebellious tribe of Moors, who had renounced their allegiance, and declared for the rebel Henneishah.

He could not fulfil his intention of visiting Feriana, the Thala of the ancients, because the country was in a state of war. He therefore journeyed eastward to Spaitla, anciently Suffetula, still distinguished by many inscriptions, and very extensive and elegant remains of ancient architecture. He made out draughts of three temples among those remains, two of the Corinthian, and one of the Composite order. The Welled Omran, a lawless tribe, disturbed our traveller, while studying the ruins of Spaitla. It was, he tells us pleasantly, a fair match between coward and coward. He, with his party were inclosed within the square in which the temples stood. The plunderers durst not break in upon them, for fear of their fire-arms. And they durst not face their horse in the plain. When our traveller and his company were almost

most starved, they were happily relieved by the arrival of a friendly tribe. At Gilma, he observed a large heap of rubbish and stones, but no distinct trace of any building. Muchtar, the ancient *Tucca Terebenthina*, was the next remarkable place which he visited; it is distinguished by two triumphal arches, the largest of which he imagines equal in taste, execution and mass, to any thing now existing in the world. He has draughts of both in his collections.

Kissar, the *Colonea Assuras* of the ancients, next attracted his notice. A triumphal arch, with an inscription, ascertaining the ancient name of the place, and a small square temple with several instruments of sacrifice carved upon it, are the most remarkable antiquities of the place. It stands on the declivity of a hill, overlooking a fertile plain. At Musti, he observed the fragments of a triumphal arch scattered on the ground. Proceeding from Musti north east, he arrived again at Dugga, and went down the *Bagradda* to Tunis.

He made yet another journey through Tunis by Zowar, a high mountain, on which there is an aqueduct that once conveyed water to Carthage. In this journey he again visited Gilma and Spaitla, and spent other five days among the ruins of the latter. The town of Spaitla is not only valuable for its elegant remains of ancient architecture, but is situated in the most beautiful spot in Barbary, surrounded with juniper trees, and watered by a pleasant stream, which sinks there under ground, and appears no more. He next visited Feriana, the ancient *Thala*, which was taken and destroyed by Metellus in his pursuit of Jugurtha. The only curiosity which struck his observation there, was baths without the town, of very warm water. Warm as it was, a number of fishes, not unlike gudgeons, appeared in it. It was surprising that any fishes could exist in water of such a temperature: but there were about five or six dozen in the pool. And he was informed, that, in the day, they went down to a certain distance in the stream that ran from it, but returned at night into the warm and deep water of the pool.

He next visited successively Gassa, Tozer, Gabs, and Inskilla, without being detained at any of these places by any very remarkable curiosity. At El Gemme, north-west of the last, he

he found a large and spacious amphitheatre. The lower part of that building appeared to have been formed to be occasionally filled with water, by means of a sluice and aqueduct still entire. For water games, the water rose up in the middle through a large square hole, faced with hewn stone. This was the last ancient building our traveller visited in the kingdom of Tunis. And he believes, he may say with confidence, there is not in the territories of either Algiers or Tunis, one fragment of good taste of which he has not brought a drawing to Britain.

He now returned to Tunis, took leave of the Bey, and set out for Tripoli. He travelled by the island of Gerba, the ancient island of the Lotophagi: but no bush, tree, or verdure, except some short grass which borders the sandy desert, is to be seen through all this tract of country. The Wargumma and Noile, two great tribes of Arabs, are masters of the deserts.

Within about four days journey of Tripoli, he met the Emer Hadje conducting the caravan of pilgrims from Fez and Suz in Morocco across Africa to Mecca. He was a middle aged man, of a stupid aspect. His caravan, a scurvy, disorderly, unarmed crowd, consisting of about 3000 men, with from 12 to 14,000 camels, loaded with merchandize and provisions, were ready to flee before Mr. Bruce's company of fifteen horsemen, when they first came up with them; but, when they learned who they were, their fears ceased, and they became insolent.

At Tripoli* our traveller was hospitably received by the British consul. He sent his books, drawings, and supernumerary

* The following account of Fezzan, which Mr. Lucas obtained from a sheereff of that country, and which was confirmed by the information of Ben Ali, a native of Morocco, is introduced here, to gratify the reader with an account of an empire, in the heart of Africa, of which, till the African Society began their liberal exertions, the very name was scarce known to us.

Fezzan is described to be situated in the vast wilderness as an island in the midst of the ocean; the capital is Mourzouk, about 390 miles south from Mesurata. The number of towns and villages is said to be little less than one hundred, which appear to be chiefly inhabited by husbandmen and shepherds; for though they also contain the merchants, the artificers, the ministers of religion, and the officers of the executive government; yet, the business of agriculture and pasturage seems to be the principal occupation of the natives of Fezzan. The houses, like those of the little villages in the neighbourhood of Tripoli, are built of

rary instruments thence by an English servant to Smyrna, and himself crossed the Gulf of Sidra to Bengazzi. The province of Bengazzi was a scene of confusion. The Bey was a weak, unhealthy young man. Two tribes of Arabs, who occupied the territory on the west of the town, had by his misconduct, been involved in a quarrel. One had prevailed over the other, and

of clay, and are covered with a flat roof, that is composed of the boughs and branches of trees, on which a quantity of earth is laid. Inartificial and defective as this covering appears, it is suited to the climate: for as rain is never known in Fezzan, the principal requisites of a roof are shelter from the dews, and protection from the sun. The heats of the summer, which begin in April and end in November, are stated to be very intense, such as often to threaten instant suffocation; but nature and custom have formed the constitutions of the inhabitants to such high degrees of heat, that an approach to the common temperament of Europe entirely destroys their comfort. Their dress is similar to that of the Moors of Barbary, resembling, with some exceptions, the dress of a British seaman. In their common intercourse with each other, all distinctions of rank appear to be forgotten; for the sheik and the lowest plebeian, the rich and the poor, the master and the man, converse familiarly, and eat and drink together. Generous and eminently hospitable, the Fezzanner, let his fare be scanty or abundant is ever desirous that others should partake of his meal, and if twenty people should unexpectedly visit his dwelling, they must all participate as far as it would go. The chief medium of payment is gold dust, the value of which is always expressed in weight. A grain of gold is stated to be worth one-half at Fezzan, or three-fourths of its value in England.

Their government is purely monarchical, and the revenues of the crown arises from taxes on the towns and villages, and duties on commerce; the king also appears to be the principal merchant in his kingdom, especially in the articles of iron and fenna.

Among the circumstances for which the natives of Fezzan, who travelled with Mr. Lucas, considered their sovereign as eminently distinguished, they often mentioned his just and impartial, but severe and determined administration of justice; and, as a proof of the ascendancy which, in this respect, he has acquired over the minds of his subjects, they described the following custom.—If any man has injured another, and refuses to go with him to the judge, the complainant, drawing a circle round the oppressor, solemnly charges him, in the king's name, not to leave the place till the officers of justice, in search of whom he is going, shall arrive; and such (if they are to be credited) is, on the one hand, his fear of the punishment which is inflicted on those who disobey the injunction, and so great, on the other, is his dread of the perpetual banishment, which, if he seeks his safety by withdrawing from the kingdom, must be his inevitable lot, that this imaginary prison operates as a real confinement, and the offender submissively waits the arrival of the officers of the judge.

South-east of the capital, at the distance of 150 miles, is a wide and sandy desert, entirely barren and oppressed with a suffocating heat, about 200 miles in width; beyond which are the mountains of Tibesti, inhabited by a wild and savage people of that name. The vales are fertile in corn and pasturage for cattle, and are particularly celebrated for their breed of camels, which are esteemed the best in Africa. The trade to Fezzan consists of fenna and camels, for which the Tibestians receive coral, alhaiks, or barakans, imperial dollars, and brass. These people are stated to have been conquered by the king of Fezzan, but at present they neither acknowledge him for their sovereign nor pay him any tribute.

To the south of the kingdom of Fezzan, in that vast region which spreads itself

from

and driven them within the town. It was crowded with thousands of inhabitants, for whom there were neither lodgings nor provisions. The streets was every night strewed with the carcases of numbers who died of hunger : and many were said to support life with food at the very idea of which human nature shudders. He

from the river of the Antelopes westward for 1200 miles, and includes a considerable part of the Niger's course, two great empires, those of Bornou and those of Cashna, are established.—The soil, climate, and productions of these empires are described as similar ; the inhabitants are black, and the ruling people are Mahometans.

From Mourzouk to Bornou the route is said to be more than a thousand miles, which is annually performed by the merchants of Fezzan, who convey a variety of articles, among which some are of European manufacture, from Tripoli through Fezzan to that capital, in return for which they receive slaves, gold dust, civit. Bornou, the name which the natives give to the country, is distinguished in Arabic by the appellation of Bernou, or Bernoa, a word which signifies the land of Noah ; for the Arabs conceive that on the first retiring of the deluge, its mountains received the ark. In this empire it is said that thirty languages are spoken ; that of Cashna contains one thousand villages and towns ; but the boundaries and population are not sufficiently explained to enable the reader to form a judgment of their extent. These countries produce a great variety of fruits, different kinds of grain and vegetables, of which a tree called kedeynah is said to be the most valuable ; in form and height it resembles the olive, is like the lemon in its leaf, and bears a nut, of which the kernal is in great estimation as a fruit, and the shell, when bruised, furnishes oil for the lamps of the people of Bornou. The government of this country, and of Cashna, is an elective monarchy, the successor to the throne being chosen from among the sons of the deceased sovereign by three elders, whose conduct in the state has invested them with the public esteem. Their choice being made, the elders conduct the sovereign elect, to the place where the corpse of his father lies, and point out to him the several virtues and the several defects which marked the character of his departed parent, and they also forcibly describe with just penegyric or severe condemnation, which raised or depressed the glory of his reign. ' You see before you the end of your mortal career ; the eternal, which succeeds to it, will be miserable or happy in proportion as your reign shall have proved a curse or a blessing to your people.'

This mode of election, however, does not secure the people from those commotions to which an elective monarchy is subject ; the rejected princes frequently revolt, and whilst he has a brother alive, the throne of the sovereign is seldom firmly established. The present sultan is described to have 500 ladies in his seraglio, and is the reputed father of 350 children, of which 300 are males. The disproportion is explained by supposing that the mother exchanges her female child for the male offspring of a stranger, in hope of seeing herself the supposed parent of a future candidate for the empire.

South-east of Bournou, at the distance of about twenty days travelling, is situated an extensive kingdom of the name of Begarmee, the inhabitants of which are rigid Mahometans, and, though perfectly black in their complexions, are not of the negro cast. Beyond this kingdom to the east are several tribes of negroes, idolaters in their religion, savage in their manners, and accustomed, it is said, to feed on human flesh. These nations the Begarmeese annually invade ; and when they have taken as many prisoners as the opportunity affords, or their purpose may require, they drive the captives, like cattle, to Begarmee. It is said, if any of them, weakened by age or exhausted by fatigue, happen to linger in their pace, one of the horsemen seizes on the oldest and cutting off his arm, uses it as a club to drive on the rest. From Begarmee they are sent to Bornou, from Bornou to Fezzan, and from Fezzan by Tripoli to different parts of the Levant. Such are the immense distances to which this unhappy race of men are sent into slavery from inland parts of their native country.

He retired, therefore, as hastily as possible from Bengazzi, and continued his journey by Arsenoe and Barca, to Ras Sem, where we were persuaded in England by the Tripoline ambassador, in the beginning of the present century, that there was a petrified city to be seen. The Arabs told Mr. Bruce too that he would find a petrified city : but the only curiosity he saw there was the jerboa, a species of mice little inferior in agility and activity to the winged tribes.

He advanced next to Ptolemeta, on the sea-coast, the ancient Ptolemais built by Ptolemy Philadelphus. Of the remains of architecture which it affords, he took draughts. Learning here that the adjacent country was in the utmost confusion ; that the caravan of Morocco had been plundered by a powerful tribe of Arabs who occupied the country between Ptolemeta and Alexandria ; and that Dema, the town to which he was next to proceed in his intended route, was ravaged at once by famine, plague, and civil dissensions, he took a passage on board a Greek vessel belonging to Lampedusa, which was then about to sail from the harbour.

This vessel was very ill accoutred. It had enough of sail, but no ballast. A crowd of passengers, fleeing before the famine, were taken on board. The commander was not accustomed to sail those seas. A light, steady breeze, promising a short and agreeable voyage, soon became violent and cold. A storm of hail followed ; and the gathering of the clouds seemed to threaten thunder. The captain was preparing, at Mr. Bruce's persuasion, to put into the harbour of Bengazzi, when the vessel unexpectedly struck on a sunken rock, in the entrance of that harbour, and at no great distance from the shore. One of two boats that were towed astern, was presently unlashied by Roger M'Cormack, Mr. Bruce's Irish servant, who, before he deserted into the Spanish service, had been a sailor on board the Monarch. Mr. Bruce, with him and his other servant, went down into the boat. A crowd followed, whom they could not prevent. Before they had moved twice the length of the boat from the ship, they were drenched by a wave, which nearly filled the boat. The wretches who filled it raised an howl of despair. Mr. Bruce had before stripped himself to a short under waist-

coat

coat and linen drawers : a silk sash was wrapped round him : in the breast pocket of his vest were a pencil, a small pocket-book, and a watch. The next wave was to determine the fate of those in the boat. He therefore called to his servants to follow him, if they could swim, and instantly let himself down in the face of the wave. With all his strength and activity in swimming, he could not withstand the force of the surf. From the ebbing wave he received a violent blow on the breast, which threw him upon his back, and occasioned him to swallow a considerable quantity of water. He dipped his head, while the next wave passed over. He was now breathless, weary, and exhausted, but almost on land. A large wave floated him up. But he was again struck on the face and breast, and involuntarily twisted about by the violence of the ebbing wave. As a last effort, he tried to feel the bottom, and happily reached the sand with his feet, although the water was still deeper than his mouth. This success inspired him with new vigour. He floated on with the conflux of the wave ; and by sinking and touching the ground, withstood the ebbs. At last, finding his hands and knees upon the sand, he fixed his fingers in it, crawled forward a few paces when the sea retired, and at length found himself beyond the reach of the sea.

The Arabs in the mean time came down to plunder the vessel. The persons in the boat had perished. One boat was thrown ashore. The Arabs had several others. In these they made their way to the ship, to plunder the wreck, and brought the people safe on shore. A blow on the neck, with the butt end of a lance, was what first awakened Mr. Bruce from the senseless state in which he lay, after escaping the violence of the waves. The Arabs believing him from his dress to be a Turk, after beating, kicking, and cursing him, stripped him of the scanty cloathing yet upon him ; and after treating the rest in the same manner, went to their boats, to seek the bodies of those who had been drowned.

In this piteous condition, our traveller crawled up among some white sandy hillocks, and there concealed himself as much as possible. Naked as he was, he durst not approach the

the tents where the women were, for fear of meeting with still severer treatment. His confusion had hitherto hindered him from recollecting that he could speak to them in their own language. It was now it occurred to him, from considering that the Arabs, when beating and stripping him, had uttered a gibberish, in imitation of Turkish, that owed the ill usage which he had received, at least in part, to his having been mistaken for a Turk.

Seeing an old Arab, with a number of young men come up to him, he saluted them in a customary phrase in their own language, *Salam Alicum*! Only one young man returned the salutation, and he in a contemptuous tone. The old man asked whether he were a Turk? He replied, that he was a poor Christian physician,—a dervish, who went about the world to do good for God's sake. 'A Cretan?' No; he had never been in Crete: he was from Tunis, and was returning thither, having lost his all in the shipwreck of the vessel. A ragged dirty baraca was immediately thrown over him, and he was ordered into a tent, through the end of which was thrust a spear, the ensign of sovereignty.

In that tent he saw the Shekh of the tribe, who, being a peace with the Bey of Bengazzi and the Shekh of Ptolema, ordered him a plentiful supper, of which his servants all shared. He complained to no purpose of the loss of all his medicines: they would give him no assistance to search for his instruments. After two days stay, the Shekh restored all that had been taken from him and his company, and furnished them with camels, and a conductor to carry them to Bengazzi. From Bengazzi he sent a present to the Shekh, with promises of an handsome reward, if he would make his people fish up, and return the things which he had lost in the wreck. He thus recovered his silver watch in a shattered condition, some pencils, a small port-folio, and his pocket book.

At Bengazzi he found a small French sloop, with the master of which he had been acquainted at Algiers, and who had come with a cargo of corn, which for a time relieved

the necessities at least of the soldiers in the place. Our traveller, with his party, caught a quantity of fishes with a small net and lines; and procuring pepper, vinegar, and onions, with these and a very little bread, saved themselves from suffering by extremity of hunger. They in vain attempted to teach the starving multitude to take fish after their example.

With the French captain Mr. Bruce sailed for the Archipelago with a fair wind. In four or five days they landed safe at Canea, in the island of Crete, where he was taken dangerously ill. From Canea he proceeded to Rhodes, and from Rhodes to Castelrosso*, on the coast of Caramania. From Castelrosso he proceeded to Cyprus; and from Cyprus, where he staid only half a day, to Sidon.

At Sidon he was kindly received by M. Clerambaut, French consul there. He made from Sidon several excursions into Syria, by Libanus and Anti-Libanus, but has not chosen to enter into a particular detail of those. From Canea and Rhodes he had written both to France and England for a moveable quadrant, a stop-watch, a time-keeper, a reflecting and an achromatic telescope.

He had the mortification to receive answers to those letters, informing him, that no such instruments could be at present procured; and that ridiculous accounts of his purposes in his travels, and of the route which he had chosen, had been circulated in Europe. The indignation with which he heard this, tempted him to renounce his design of exploring the sources of the Nile; but he resolved still to visit the famous ruins of Palmyra.

At the invitation first of Mr. Abbot, the British consul at Tripoli in Syria, and afterwards of his successor Mr. Vernon, our traveller now proceeded to Tripoli. In preparing for his expedition towards Palmyra, he visited the ancient Byblus, and bathed in the river Adonis. Through Latikeya and Antioch, he passed on to Aleppo. At Aleppo he was afflicted with

* See Savary's travels in Greece, for some account of Castelrosso, and the adjoining parts of Caramania.

with a return of a fever and ague which he had first caught, by his sufferings at Bengazzi. By the attentions of Dr. Ruffel, he happily recovered from this dangerous illness.

When his health was re-established, he prosecuted his purpose. The deserts around Palmyra are inhabited by two rival tribes of Arabs; the Annecy, remarkable for having the finest horses in the world; and the Mowallia, who ride much worse horses, but are better foldiers. Mr. Bruce was lucky enough to obtain the protection of the Shekh of the Mowalli, and directions from him by what road to travel to Palmyra.

Thus encouraged, he returned from Aleppo to Tripoli; set out at a time agreed upon with the Shekh to Hamath, the northern boundary of the Holy land; and having there met an Arab, whom the friendly Shekh had sent to be his conductor, proceeded to Haffia. On his way he had occasion to cross the river Orontes, which passes through the plains where the best tobacco in Syria is cultivated. At some miserable huts near the river, inhabited by Turcomans, he asked the master of one to shew him the ford. The Turcoman readily did so: but Mr. Bruce had advanced but a short way through the pretended ford, when his horse fell on a sudden out of his depth.

He had a rifled gun slung across his shoulders, with a buff belt and swivel. Luckily the swivel gave way, and the gun fell to the bottom of the river. Thus disengaged, he and his horse swam separately ashore. At a small distance was a caphar, or turnpike. Mr. Bruce going thither to dry himself, was informed, that the Turcomans who had misguided him were an infamous banditti, and that he and his horse had fallen from the remains of the wing of a bridge, which had formerly crossed the river in that place. The capharman then shewed his servants the right ford, and they passed safe. From Haffia our travellers proceeded to Carcateeu, where they found Hassan a kelp merchant, their old acquaintance, and two thousand of the Annecy encamped around. Two old men from the two tribes, the Mowalli and the Annecy, accompanied them on horseback to Palmyra. The tribes furnished them with camels, and they passed the desert, between Carcateeu and Palmyra, in a day and two nights.

Just

Just as they approached within sight of the ruins, they ascended a hill of white gritty stone by a narrow winding road. Arrived at the top of that hill, they beheld before them one of the most stupendous sights that perhaps ever appeared to mortal eyes. An extensive plain, covered thick with magnificent buildings of white stone, which at a distance appeared like marble, of fine proportions, and agreeable forms; and at the end, the palace of the sun, more magnificent than any of the rest.

Of the ruins of Palmyra Mr. Bruce drew six angular views on large paper, and proceeded next to Baalbec, about 130 miles distant from the former. He reached Baalbec on the very day on which his friend, Emir Yousef, having reduced the city, and settled the government, was decamping to return home. His friend the Emir made things about the city very agreeable to him, and left him to his freedom.

Baalbec is pleasantly situated on a plain, west of Anti Libanus, about 50 miles from Haffia, and thirty from the ancient Byblus, on the nearest sea-coast. The interior parts of the temple of the sun at Baalbec exhibits some of the most perfect works of sculpture, and surpasses any thing at Palmyra.

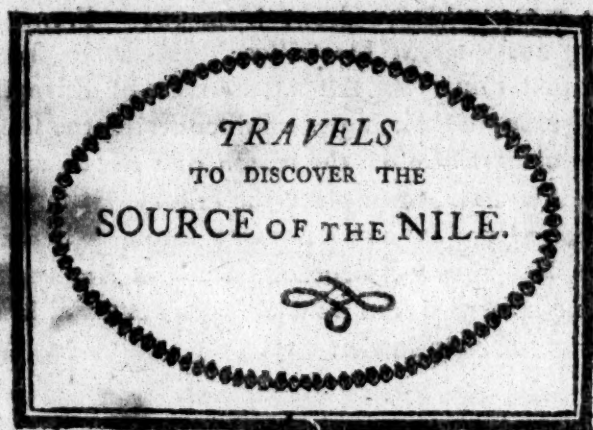
Passing Tyre, Mr. Bruce became a mournful witness of the accomplishment of that prophecy, by which it was foretold, that Tyre, the queen of nations, should be a rock for fishermen to dry their nets on. Two wretched fishermen who had just been drawing their nets, were persuaded by Mr. Bruce to drag in those places where shell fish were to be found. He had hoped that they might bring out one of the famous purple fishes, for which Tyre was renowned in antiquity. Mr. Bruce fancies, by that talking of purple fishes, the Tyrians only concealed their knowledge of cochineal. He finished this expedition by arriving safe at the hospitable mansion of M. Clerambaut, at Sidon.

At Sidon he found letters from Europe, more agreeable than those which he had last received, with the time-pieces and astronomical instruments for which he had written. But still he wanted a quadrant; an instrument of essential utility,

if he would prosecute his purposes farther. He however determined now to visit Egypt, where he might examine the most ancient remains of architecture. Norden, Pococke, and others, had already given general accounts of the Egyptian architecture; but he wished to observe the proportions of their columns, and the general construction of their buildings. Observations which he might thus add to his former stock would furnish materials for a pleasant and useful amusement in his old age. A letter which he now received from M. de Buffon contributed somewhat to make him alter his resolution. M. de Buffon, M. Guys, and several other French philosophers of great respectability of character, had obtained for him a moveable quadrant from the "French king's own military academy at Marseilles." A letter from Mr. Ruffel informed him, that the astronomers of Europe were now less sanguine in their hopes of discovering the sun's parallax by the observation of the transit of Venus; and that a journey into Abyssinia, to explore the history of that country, would be considered as a much more important service to learning. A letter from his correspondent at Alexandria, at the same time informed him that the quadrant and his other instruments were ready in that city.

TRAVELS





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TRAVELS

TO DISCOVER THE

SOURCE OF THE NILE.

BOOK I.

THE AUTHOR'S TRAVELS IN EGYPT. VOYAGE IN THE
RED SEA, TILL HIS ARRIVAL AT MASUAH.

ON Saturday the 15th of June 1768, Mr. Bruce sailed from the once opulent and powerful city of Sidon, for the island of Cyprus.

Proceeding towards Cyprus, he observed a number of thin white clouds, which came evidently from the mountains of Abyssinia, and were flitting towards Mount Taurus, to bring new stores of vapour, to occasion the overflowing of the Nile. On the 16th, at dawn of day, he observed a high hill, which he took for Mount Olympus. The rest of the island soon after appeared in view. Cyprus remained long undiscovered by the ancient navigators of those seas. It was not known at the building of Tyre, 500 years after ships had begun to pass around it. At its discovery it was covered over with wood. On the west side of the island the wood still remains thick and impervious. Large stags and wild boars of a monstrous size find shelter there; and the inhabitants affirm, that even an elephant was alive there not many years ago.

A great many medals, though very few of them good, are dug up in Cyprus; silver ones, of very excellent workmanship,

ship, are found near Paphos, of very little value in the eyes of Antiquarians, being chiefly of towns, of the size of those found at Crete and Rhodes, and all the islands of the Archipelago. In Taglios there are some few, part in a very excellent Greek stile, and generally upon better stones than usual in the islands.

On the 17th of June they left Lernica, about four o'clock in the afternoon, and on the 18th, a little before twelve o'clock, a very fresh and favourable breeze came from the N. W. and they pointed their prow directly, as they thought, upon Alexandria.

The 20th of June, early in the morning, our traveller had a distant prospect of Alexandria rising from the sea. On the first view of the city, the mixture of old monuments, such as the Column of Pompey, with the high Moorish towers and steeples, raise our expectations of the consequence of the ruins we are to find; but the moment we are in port, the illusion ends, and we distinguish the immense Herculean works of ancient times, now few in number, from the ill-imagined, ill-constructed, and imperfect buildings of the several barbarous masters of Alexandria in later ages. There are two ports, the Old and the New, which are by no means safe, as many vessels are frequently lost while riding at anchor.

Alexandria has been often taken since the time of Cæsar*. It was at last destroyed by the Venetians and Cypriots, upon, or rather after the release of St. Lewis.—The building of the present gates and walls, which some have thought to be antique, does not seem earlier than the last restoration in the 13th century. Some parts of the gates and walls may be of older date (and probably were those of the last Caliphs before Salidan) but, except these, and the pieces of columns which lie horizontally in different parts of the wall, every thing else is apparently of very late times, and the work has been

* When it was taken by the Saracens, Amrou, general of the victorious army, wrote thus to the Caliph: "I have taken the city of the West. It is of immense extent. It contains innumerable wonders. There are in it 4000 baths, 12,000 dealers in fresh oil, 4000 Jews who pay tribute, 400 comedians." &c. "Burn these books, said Omar, with respect to the famous library collected by the Ptolemies: if they say nothing but what is in the Koran they are useless, if any thing contradictory to it, dangerous."

been huddled together in great haste. There is nothing beautiful or pleasant in the present Alexandria, but a handsome street of modern houses, where a very active and intelligent number of merchants live upon the miserable remnants of that trade, which made its glory in the first times. It is thinly inhabited, and there is a tradition among the natives, that, more than once, it has been in agitation to abandon it altogether, and retire to Rosetto or Cairo, but that they have been withheld by the opinion of divers saints from Arabia, who have assured them, that Mecca being destroyed, (as it must be, as they think, by the Russians) Alexandria is then to become *the holy place*, and that Mahomet's body is to be transported thither.

On Mr. Bruce's arrival at Alexandria, he found that the plague had raged in that city and neighbourhood from the beginning of March, and that two days only before their arrival, people had begun to open their houses and communicate with each other; but it was no matter, St. John's day was *past*, the miraculous *nucta*, or dew, had fallen, and every body went about their ordinary business in safety, and without fear. Here Mr. Bruce received his instruments, and found them in good condition.

Our traveller being now prepared for any enterprise, he left with eagerness the thread-bare inquiries into the meagre remains of this once-famous capital of Egypt.—The journey to Rosetto is always performed by land, as the mouth of the branch of the Nile leading to Rosetto, called the Bogaz, is very shallow and dangerous to pass, and often tedious; besides, nobody wishes to be a partner for any time in a voyage with Egyptian sailors, if he can possibly avoid it. The journey by land is also reputed dangerous, and people travel burdened with arms, which they are determined never to use.

All Egypt is full of deep dust and sand, from the beginning of March to the first of the inundation. It is this fine powder and sand, raised and loosened by the heat of the sun, and want of dew, and not being tied fast, as it were, by any root or vegetation, which the Nile carries off with it, and buries in the sea, and which many ignorantly suppose comes from
 D Abyssinia,

Abyssinia, where every river runs in a bed of rock. When you leave the sea, you strike off nearly at right angles, and pursue your journey to the eastward. Here heaps of stone and trunks of pillars are set up to guide you in your road, through moving sands; which stand in hillocks, in proper directions, and which conduct you safely to Rosetto, surrounded on one side by these hills of sand, which seem ready to cover it.

Rosetto is upon that branch of the Nile which was called the Bolbuttic Branch, and is about four miles from the sea. It is a large, clean, neat town, or village, upon the eastern side of the Nile. It is about three miles long, much frequented by studious and religious Mahometans; among these two are a considerable number of merchants, it being the entrepot between Cairo and Alexandria, and *vice versa*; here, too the merchants have their factors, who superintend and watch over the merchandise which passes the Bogaz to and from Cairo.—There are many gardens and much verdure about Rosetto; the ground is low, and retains long the moisture it imbibes from the overflowing of the Nile. Here also are many curious plants and flowers brought from different countries*.

On the 30th of June, Mr. Bruce embarked for Cairo. There are wonderful tales told at Alexandria, as well as at Cairo, of the danger of passing over the desert to Rosetto. After you embark on the Nile in your way to Cairo, you hear of pilots,

* The art of serpent-eating, for which the ancient Pylly of Egypt were so celebrated is still preserved at Rosetto.

Last week, says M. Savary, was celebrated the feast of *Sidi Ibrahim*, which drew a vast concourse of people to Rosetto. A Turk permitted me to come to his house to see the procession. Seated at the window, I observed attentively this new spectacle. The different bodies of artisans gravely marched along under their respective banners. The standard of Mahomet, which was carried in triumph, attracted a vast crowd. Every body was desirous of touching, or kissing it, or putting it to his eyes. Such as were fortunate enough to partake of that favour, returned contented. The tumult was incessantly renewed. At length came the Cheiks (the priests of the country) wearing long caps of leather, in the form of a mitre. They marched with solemn steps, chanting the Koran. A few paces behind them, I perceived a band of madmen, with their arms bare, and a wild look, holding in their hands enormous serpents, which were twisted round their bodies, and were endeavouring to make their escape. These Pylly, gripping them forcibly by the neck, avoided their bite, and notwithstanding their hissing, tore them with their teeth, and ate them up alive, the blood streaming down from their polluted mouths. Others of the Pylly were striving to tear from them their prey; it was a struggle who should devour a serpent.

pilots, and masters of vessels, who land you among robbers to share your plunder, and twenty such like stories, all of them of old date, and which perhaps happened long ago, or never happened at all. But provided the government of Cairo is settled, and you do not land at villages in strife with each other, (in which circumstances no person of any nation is safe) you must be very unfortunate indeed, if any great accident befall you between Alexandria and Cairo.

They arrived at Cairo in the beginning of July, recommended to the very hospitable house of Julian and Bertran, to whom Mr. Bruce imparted his resolution of pursuing his journey to Abyssinia. The wildness of the intention seemed to strike them greatly, on which account they endeavoured all they could to persuade him against it, but, seeing him resolved, they offered kindly their most effectual services.

That part of Cairo, in which the French are settled, is exceedingly commodious, and fit for retirement. It consists of one long street, where all the merchants of that nation live together. It is shut at one end by large gates, where there is a guard, and these are kept constantly close in the time of the plague. At the other end is a large garden tolerably kept, in which there are several pleasant walks and seats. All the enjoyment that Christians can hope for, among this vile people, reduces itself to peace, and quiet; nobody seeks for more. They are, however, wicked emissaries who are constantly employed by threats, lies, and extravagant demands, to torment them, and keep them from enjoying that repose which would content them instead of freedom, and more solid happiness, in their own country.

There are perhaps four hundred inhabitants in Cairo, who have absolute power, and administer what they call justice, in their own way, and according to their own views. But fortunately, in Mr. Bruce's time, this many-headed monster was no more, there was but one Ali Bey, and there was neither inferior nor superior jurisdiction exercised, but by his officers only. This happy state did not last long. In order to be a Bey, the person must have been a slave, and bought for money at a market. Every Bey has a great number of servants, slaves to him, as he was to others before; these are
his

his guards, and these he promotes to places in his household according as they are qualified.

It is very extraordinary to find a race of men in power, all agree to leave their succession to strangers, in preference to their own children, for a number of ages; and that no one should ever have attempted to make his son succeed him, either in dignity or estate, in preference to a slave, whom he has bought for money like a beast.

The instant that Mr. Bruce arrived at Cairo was perhaps the only one in which he ever could have been allowed, single and unprotected as he was, to have made his intended journey. Ali Bey, lately known in Europe by various narratives of the last transactions of his life, after having undergone many changes of fortune, and been banished by his rivals from his capital, at last had enjoyed the satisfaction of a return, and of making himself absolute in Cairo.

After a variety of circumstances of little consequence to the reader, Mr. Bruce was admitted to an audience of the Bey. He was a much younger man than he had conceived him to be; he was sitting upon a large sofa, covered with crimson cloth of gold; his turban, his girdle, and the head of his dagger, all thick covered with fine brilliants; one in his turban, that served to support a sprig of brilliants also, was amongst the largest Mr. Bruce had ever seen. The Bey entered into discourse with him concerning the Russian and Turkish war, and conversed some time with him on that subject.

Two or three nights afterwards the Bey sent for him again. It was near eleven o'clock before he got admittance to him. He met the janissary Aga going out from him, and a number of soldiers at the door. As Mr. Bruce did not know him, he passed him, without ceremony, which is not usual for any person to do. Whenever he mounts on horseback, as he was then just going to do, he has absolute power of life and death, without appeal, all over Cairo and its neighbourhood.

He stooped our traveller just at the threshold, and asked one of the Bey's people who he was? and was answered, "It is

Hakim

Hakim Englese," the English philosopher, or physician. He asked Mr. Bruce in Turkish, in a very polite manner, if he would come and see him, for he was not well? He answered him in Arabiac, "Yes, whenever he pleased, but could not then stay, as he had received a message that the Bey was waiting." He replied in Arabic, "No, no; go, for God's sake go; any time will do for me."

The Bey was sitting, leaning forward, with a wax taper in one hand, and reading a small slip of paper, which he held close to his face. He seemed to have little light or weak eyes; no body was near him: his people had been all dismissed, or were following the janissary Aga out.

He did not seem to observe Mr. Bruce till he was close upon him, and started when he said, "*Salam.*" He told him he came upon his message. He said, "I thank you, did I send for you?" and without giving him leave to reply, went on, "O true, I did so," and fell to reading his paper again. After this was over, he complained that he had been ill, that he vomitted immediately after dinner, though he eat moderately; that his stomach was not yet settled, and was afraid something had been given him to do him mischief.

Our traveller felt his pulse, which was low and weak; but very little feverish. He desired he would order his people to look if his meat was dressed in copper properly tinned; he assured him he was in no danger, and insinuated that he thought he had been guilty of some excess before dinner; at which he smiled, and said to one who was standing by, "Afrite! Afrite!" he is a devil! he is a devil! Mr. Bruce said, if your stomach is really uneasy from what you have ate, warm some water, and, if you please, put a little green tea into it, and drink it till it makes you vomit gently, and that will give you ease; after which you may take a dish of strong coffee, and go to bed, or a glass of spirits, if you have any that are good.

As Mr. Bruce's favour with the Bey was now established by frequent interviews, he thought of leaving his solitary mansion at the convent. He desired Mr. Risk, the Bey's secretary, to procure his peremptory letters of recommendation to

Shekh Haman, to the governor of Syene, Ibrim, and Deir, in Upper Egypt. He procured also the same from the janissaries, to these three last places, as their garrisons are from that body at Cairo which they call their Port. He had also letters from Ali Bey, to the Bey of Suez, to the Sherriffe of Mecca, to the Naybe (so they call the Sovereign) of Masuah, and to the King of Sennar, and his minister for the time being.

Having obtained all his letters and dispatches, as well from the patriarch as from the Bey, he set about preparing for his journey.

On the other side of the Nile, from Cairo, is Geeza; and about eleven miles beyond this are the pyramids, called the Pyramids of Geeza*, the description of which is in every body's hands. Engravings of them had been published in England, with plans of them, upon a large scale, two years before Mr. Bruce came into Egypt, and were shewn him by Mr. Davidson, consul of Nice, whose drawings they were. He it was too that discovered the small chamber above the landing place, after you ascend through the long gallery of the great pyramid on your left hand, and he left the ladder by which he ascended, for the satisfaction of other travellers. But there is nothing in the chamber further worthy of notice, than its having escaped discovery so many ages.

It is very singular, that for such a time as these Pyramids have been known, travellers were content rather to follow the report of the ancients, than to make use of their own eyes; yet it has been a constant belief, that the stones composing these Pyramids have been brought from the Lybian mountains, though any one who will take the pains to remove the sand on the south side, will find the solid rock there hewn into steps. In the roof of the large chamber, where the Sarcophagus stands, as also in the top of the roof of the gallery, as you go up into that chamber, you see large fragments of the rock, affording an unanswerable proof, that those Pyramids were once huge rocks, standing where they now are; that some of them, the most proper from their form,

* Geeza is an ancient suburb of Old Cairo. A manufactory of sal ammoniac is established there.

form, were chosen for the body of the Pyramid, and the others hewn into steps, to serve for the superstructure, and the exterior parts of them.

Mr. Bruce, having now provided every thing necessary, and taken rather a melancholy leave of his very indulgent friends, who had great apprehensions that he and his companions would never return; and fearing that their stay till the very excessive heats were past, might involve them in another difficulty, that of missing the Etesian winds, they secured a boat to carry them to Fushout, the residence of Hamam, the Shekh of Upper Egypt.

This sort of vessel is called a Canja, and is one of the most commodious used on any river, being safe, and expeditious at the same time, though at first sight it has a strong appearance of danger. That on which they embarked was about 100 feet from stern to stem, with two masts, main and foremast, and two monstrous *Latine* sails, the main-sail yard being about 200 feet in length.

A certain kind of robber, peculiar to the Nile, is constantly on the watch to rob boats, in which they suppose the crew are off their guard. They generally approach the boat when it is calm, either swimming under water, or when it is dark, upon goat skins; after which they mount with the utmost silence, and take away whatever they can lay their hands on. They are not very fond, it seems, of meddling with vessels whereon they see Franks or Europeans, because by them some have been wounded with fire arms. The attempts are generally made when you are at anchor, or under weigh, at night, in very moderate weather; but ofteneft when you are falling down the stream without masts; for it requires strength, vigour, and skill, to get aboard a vessel going before a brisk wind; though indeed they are abundantly provided with all these requisites.

It was the 12th of December when they embarked on the Nile at Bulac, on board the Canja. At first they had the precaution to apply to their friend Risk concerning the captain Hagi Hassan Abou Cussi, and they obliged him to give his son Mahomet in security for his behaviour towards them.

There

There was nothing so much they desired as to be at some distance from Cairo on their voyage. Incivility and extortion are always the consequence in this detestable country when you are about to leave it.

The wind being contrary, they were obliged to advance against the stream, by having the boat drawn with a rope. They advanced a few miles to two convents of Cophts, called Deireteen. Here they stopped to pass the night, having had a fine view of the Pyramids of Geeza and Saccara, and being then in sight of a prodigious number of others built of white clay, and stretching far into the desert to the south-west. Two of these seemed full as large as those that are called the Pyramids of Geeza. One of them was of a very extraordinary form; it seemed as if it had been intended at first to be a large one, but that the builder's heart or means had failed him, and that he had brought it to a very mishapen disproportioned head at last.

On the side of the Nile opposite to their boat, a little farther to the south, was a tribe of Arabs encamped. These were subject to Cairo, or were then at peace with its government. They are called Howadat, being a part of the Atouni, a large tribe that possesses the Isthmus of Suez, and from that go up between the Red Sea and the mountains that bound the east part of the Valley of Egypt. They reach to the length of the Cossair, where they border upon another large tribe called Ababdé, which extends from thence up into Nubia. Both these are what were anciently called *Shepherds*, and are constantly at war with each other.

Mr. Bruce now bargained with the Shekh of the Howadat to furnish him with horses to go to Metrahenny, or Mohannan, where once he said Mimf had stood, a large city, the capital of all Egypt. All this was executed with great success. Early in the morning the Shekh of the Howadat had passed at Miniel, where there is a ferry, the Nile being very deep; and attended our traveller, with five horsemen and a spare horse for himself, at Metrahenny, south of Miniel, where there is a great plantation of palm trees.

On

On the 13th, in the morning about eight o'clock, our travellers let out their vast sails, and passed a very considerable village called Turra, on the east side of the river, and Shekh Atinen, a small village, consisting of about thirty houses on the west.

The Nile here is about a quarter of a mile broad ; and there cannot be the smallest doubt, in any person disposed to be convinced, that this is by very far the narrowest part of Egypt yet seen ; for it is certainly less than half a-mile between the foot of the mountain and the Lybian shore.

Having gained the western edge of the palm trees at Mohannan, our travellers had a fair view of the Pyramids at Geeza, which lie in a direction nearly S. W. They saw three large granite pillars S. W. of Mohannan, and a piece of a broken chest or cistern of granite ; but no obelisks, or stones with hieroglyphics, and they thought the greatest part of the ruins seemed to point that way, or more southerly.

These their conductor said, were the ruins of Mimf, the ancient seat of the Pharaohs Kings of Egypt, that there was another Mimf, far down in the Delta, by which he meant Menouf, below Terane and Batn el Baccara.

Mr. Bruce, perceiving now that he could get no further intelligence, returned with his kind guide, whom he gratified for his pains, and they parted content with each other.

All the people in the date villages seemed to be of a yellower and more sick-like colour than any our traveller had ever seen ; besides, they had an inanimate, dejected, grave countenance, and seemed rather to avoid than wish for any conversation.

It was near four o'clock in the afternoon when they returned to their boatmen. By the way they met one of their Moors, who told them, that they had drawn up the boat opposite to the northern point of the palm-trees of Metrahenny.

The wind was fair and fresh, rather a little on their beam ; when, in great spirits, they hoisted their main and fore-sails, leaving the point of Metrahenny. They saw the Pyramids
of

of Saccara still S. W. of them ; several villages on both sides of the river, but very poor and miserable ; part of the ground on the east side had been overflowed, yet was not sown ; a proof of the oppression and distress the husbandman suffers in the neighbourhood of Cairo, by the avarice and disagreement of the different officers of that motly incomprehensible government.

After sailing about two miles, they saw three men fishing in a very extraordinary manner and situation. They were on a raft of palm branches, supported on a float of clay jars made fast together. The form was triangular, like the face of a Pyramid ; two men, each provided with a casting net, stood at the two corners, and threw their net into the stream together ; the third stood at the third corner, which was foremost, and threw his net the moment the other two drew theirs out of the water. And this they repeated, in perfect time, and with surprising regularity. The Rais thought our travellers wanted to buy fish, and letting go his mainsail, ordered them on board with a great tone of superiority.

They were in a moment alongside of them ; and one of them came on-board, lashing his miserable raft to a rope at their stern. In recompence for their trouble they gave them some large pieces of tobacco, and this transported them so much, that they brought them a basket of several different kinds of fish, all small, except one, laid on the top of the basket, which was a clear salmon coloured fish, silvered upon its sides, with a shade of blue upon its back. It weighed about 10lb. and was most excellent, being perfectly firm, and white like a perch. There are some of this kind 70lb. weight. Mr. Bruce examined their nets ; they were rather of a smaller circumference than our casting nets in England ; the weight, as far as he could guess, rather heavier in proportion than ours, the thread that composed them being smaller. He could not sufficiently admire their success, in a violent stream of deep water, such as the Nile ; for the river was at least twelve feet deep where they were fishing, and the current very strong.

These fishers offered willingly to take Mr. Bruce upon the raft to teach him, but his curiosity went not so far. They
said

said their fishing was merely accidental, and in course of their trade, which was selling these potter earthen jars, which they got near Ashmounein; and after having carried the raft with them to Cairo, they untie, sell them at the market, and carry the produce home in money, or in necessaries, upon their back. A very poor economical trade, but sufficient as they said, from the carriage of crude materials, the moulding, making, and sending them to market, to Cairo, and to different places in the Delta, to afford occupation to two thousand men.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, they came to the point of an island; there were several villages with date trees on both sides of them; the ground was overflowed by the Nile, and cultivated. The current was very strong here. They then came to Halouan, an island now divided into a number of small ones, by calishes being cut through it, and, under different Arabic names, they still reach very far up the stream. Mr. Bruce landed to see if there were remains of the olive tree which Strabo, says grew here, but without success. Our travellers imagined, however, that there had been such a tree; because opposite to one of the divisions into which this large island is broken, there was a village called Zeitoun, or the Olive Tree.

On the 15th of December, the weather being nearly calm, they left the north end of the island; their course was due south, the line of the river; and three miles farther they passed Woodan, and a collection of villages, all going by that name, upon the east.

The ground is all cultivated about this village, to the foot of the mountains, which is not above four miles; but it is full eight on the west, all overflowed and sown. The Nile is here but shallow, and narrow, not exceeding a quarter of a mile broad, and three feet deep, owing, as is supposed, to the resistance made by the island in the middle of the current, and by a bend it makes, thus intercepting the sand brought down by the stream. The mountains here come down till within two miles of Suf el Woodan, for so the village is called. They were told there were some ruins to the westward of this, but only rubbish, neither arch nor column standing.

The

The wind still freshening, they passed by several villages on each side, all surrounded with palm trees, verdant and pleasant, but conveying an idea of sameness and want of variety, such as every traveller must have felt who has sailed in the placid, muddy, green-banked rivers in Holland. The Nile, however, is here full a mile broad, the water deep, and the current strong, the wind seemed to be exasperated by the resistance of the stream, and blew fresh and steadily, as indeed it generally does where the current is violent.

They passed with great velocity Nizelet Embarak, Cubabac, Nizelet Omar, Racca Kibeer, then Racca Seguiet, and came in sight of Atfia, a large village at some distance from the Nile: all the valley here was green, the palm groves beautiful, and the Nile deep. Still it was not the prospect that pleased; for the whole ground that was sown to the sandy ascent of the mountains, was but a narrow strip of three quarters of a mile broad, and the mountains themselves, which here began to have a moderate degree of elevation, and which bounded this narrow valley, were white, gritty, sandy, and uneven, and perfectly destitute of all manner of verdure.

They kept, as usual, a very good watch all night, which passed without disturbance. Next day, the 17th, was exceedingly hazy in the morning, though it cleared about ten o'clock. It was, however, sufficient to shew the falsity of the observation of an author, who says, that the Nile emits no fogs; and in the course of the voyage they often saw other examples of the fallacy of this assertion.

The Pyramids, which had been on their right hand at different distances since they passed the Saccara, terminated here in one of a very singular construction. About two miles from the Nile, between Suf and Woodan, there is a Pyramid, which at first sight appears all of a piece; it is of unbaked bricks, and perfectly entire; the inhabitants call it the false Pyramid. The lower part is a hill exactly shaped like a Pyramid for a considerable height. Upon this is continued the superstructure in proportion till it terminates like a Pyramid above; and, at a distance, it would require a good eye to discern the difference, for the face of the stone has a great resemblance

resemblance to clay, of which the Pyramids of the Saccara are composed.

The 18th, about eight o'clock in the morning, they prepared to get on their way; the wind was calm, and south.

After passing Comadreedy, the Nile is again divided by another fragment of the island, and inclines a little to the westward. On the east is the village Sidi Ali el Courani. It has only two palm-trees belonging to it, and on that account hath a deserted appearance; but the wheat upon the banks was five inches high, and more advanced than any they had seen. The mountains on the east side came down to the banks of the Nile, were bare, white, and sandy, and there was on this side no appearance of villages. The river here is about a quarter of a mile broad, or something more. It should seem it was the Angyrorum Civitas of Ptolemy, but neither night nor day could Mr. Bruce get an instant for observation, on account of thin white clouds, which confused (for they scarce can be said to cover) the heavens continually.

They now passed a convent of cophts, with a small plantation of palms. It was a miserable building, with a dome like to a saint's or marabout's, and stood quite alone. About four miles from this was the village of Nizelet el Arab, consisting of miserable huts. Here began large plantations of sugar canes, the first they had yet seen; they were then loading boats with these to carry them to Cairo. Mr. Bruce procured from them as many as he desired. The canes were about an inch and a quarter in diameter; they were cut in round pieces about three inches long, and, after having been slit, they were steeped in a wooden bowl of water. They give a very agreeable taste and flavour to it, and make it the most refreshing drink in the world, whilst by imbibing the water, the canes become more juicy, and lose a part of their heavy, clammy sweetness, which would occasion thirst. Our traveller was surprised at finding this plant in such a state of perfection so far to the northward. They were now scarcely arrived in lat. 29°, and nothing could be more beautiful and perfect than the canes were.

E

Sugar,

Sugar, tobacco, red podded or Cayenne pepper, cotton, some spices of Solanum, indigo, and a multitude of others, have not as yet their origin well ascertained. Prince Henry of Portugal put his discoveries to immediate profit, and communicated what he found new in each part in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America, to where it was wanting. It will be soon difficult to ascertain to each quarter of the world the articles that belong to it, and fix upon those few that are common to all. Even wheat, the early produce of Egypt, is not a native of it. It grows under the Line, within the Tropics, and as far north and south as we know. Severe northern winters seem to be necessary to it, and it vegetates vigorously in frost and snow. But whence it came, and in what shape, is yet left to conjecture.

Though the stripe of green wheat was continued all along the Nile, it was interrupted for about half a mile on each side the coptish convent. These poor wretches know, that though they may sow, yet, from the violence of the Arabs, they shall never reap, and therefore leave the ground desolate.

On the side opposite to Sment, the stripe began again, and continued from Sment to Mey-Moom, about two miles, and from Mey-Moom to Shenuiah, one mile further. In this small stripe, not above a quarter of a mile broad, besides wheat, clover was sown, which they called Berline, and cultivate in the same manner as in England.

They next passed Boush, a village on the west side of the Nile, two miles south of Shenuiah; and, a little further, Beni Ali, where they saw for a minute the mountains on the right or west side of the Nile, running in a line nearly south, and very high. About five miles from Boush is the village of Maniareish on the east side of the river, and here the mountains on that side end.

The country all around is well cultivated, and seemed to be of the utmost fertility; the inhabitants were better clothed, and seemingly less miserable and oppressed, than those they left behind in the places near Cairo. The Nile was very shallow

shallow at Beni Suef, and the current strong. They touched several times in the middle of the stream, and came to anchor at Baha, about a quarter of a mile above Beni Suef, where they passed the night.

They were told to keep good watch here all night, that there were troops of robbers on the east side of the water, who had lately plundered some boats, and that the cacheff either dared not, or would not give them any assistance. They indeed kept strict watch, but saw no robbers, and were no other way molested.

The 18th they had fine weather and a fair wind. Still Mr. Bruce thought the villages were beggarly, and the constant groves of palm trees so perfectly verdant, did not compensate for the penury of the sown land, the narrowness of the valley, and barrenness of the mountains. They arrived in the evening at Zohora, about a mile south of Etfa. It consisted of three plantations of dates, and was five miles from Miniet, and there they passed the night.

The wind was so high they scarcely could carry their sails; the current was strong at Shekh Temine, and the violence with which they went through the water was terrible. The Rais told Mr. Bruce, that they should have slackened their sails, if it had not been, that, seeing him curious about the construction of the vessel and her parts, and as they were in no danger of striking, though the water was low, he wanted to shew him what she could do.

They passed by a number of villages on the western shore, the eastern seeming to be perfectly unpeopled: First Feshmé, a considerable place; then Miniet, a large town, which had been fortified towards the water, at least there were some guns there. A rebel Bey had taken possession of it, and it was usual to stop here, the river being both narrow and rapid; but the Rais was in great spirits, and resolved to hold his wind, as Mr. Bruce had desired him, and no body made them any signal from shore.

They came to a village called Rhoda, whence they saw the magnificent ruins of the ancient city of Antinous, built by
Adrian.

Adrian. Unluckily Mr. Bruce knew nothing of these ruins when he left Cairo, and had taken no pains to provide himself with letters of recommendation as he could easily have done.

Mr. Bruce asked the Rais what sort of people they were? He said that the town was composed of very bad Turks, very bad Moors, and very bad Christians; that several devils had been seen among them lately, who had been discovered by being better and quieter than the rest. The Nubian geographer informs us, that it was from this town Pharaoh brought his magicians, to compare their powers with those of Moses, an anecdote worthy that great historian.

Our traveller told the Rais, that he must, of necessity, go ashore. He did not seem to be fond of the expedition; but hauling in his main-sail, and with his fore-sail full, stood S. S. E. directly under the ruins. In a short time they arrived at the landing place; the banks were low, and they brought up in a kind of bight or small bay, where there was a stake, so their vessel touched very little, or rather swung clear.

Abou Cnffi's son Mahomet, and the Arab, went on shore, under pretence of buying some provision, and to see how the land lay; but after the character they had of the inhabitants, all the fire arms were brought to the door of the cabin. In the mean time, partly with his naked eye, and partly with his glass, Mr. Bruce was enabled to contemplate the ruins attentively, which filled him with astonishment and admiration. The columns of the angle of the portico were standing fronting to the north, part of the tympanum, cornice, frieze, and architrave, all entire, and very much ornamented; thick trees hid what was behind. The columns were of the largest size and fluted; the capitals Corinthian, and in all appearance entire. They were of white Parian marble probably; but had lost the extreme whiteness, or polish, of the Antonious at Rome, and were changed to the colour of the fighting gladiator, or rather to a brighter yellow. He saw indistinctly also, a triumphal arch, or gate of the town, in the very same style; and some blocks of very white shining stone, which seemed to be alabaster.

Mr.

Mr. Bruce, and those who remained with him in the boat, where on a sudden alarmed by hearing a violent dispute between the two who went on shore and the inhabitants. Upon this the Rais stripping, slipped off the rope from the stake, and another of the Moors struck a strong perch or pole into the river, and twisted the rope round it. They were in a bight or calm place, so that the stream did not move the boat.

Mahomet and the Moor came presently in sight; the people had taken Mahomet's turban from him, and they were apparently on the very worst terms. Mahomet cried to our travellers that the whole town was coming, and getting near the boat, he and the Moor jumped in with great agility. A number of people was assembled, and three shots were fired into the boat, very quickly, the one after the other.

Mr. Bruce cried out in Arabic, "Infidels, thieves, and robbers! come on, or we shall presently attack you;" upon which he immediately fired a ship blunderbuss, with pistol small bullets, but with little elevation, among the bushes, so as not to touch them. The three or four men that were nearest fell flat upon their faces, and slid away among the bushes on their bellies, and they saw no more of them.

They now put their vessel into the stream, filled their fore-sail and stood off, Mahomet crying, "Be upon your guard, if you are men, we are Sanjack's soldiers, and we will come for the turban to-night." More they neither heard nor saw.

They were no sooner out of their reach, than the Rais, filling his pipe, and looking very grave, told Mr. Bruce to thank God, that our traveller was in the vessel with such a man as he was, as it was owing to that only he escaped from being murdered ashore. "Certainly Hassan, (said Mr. Bruce) under God, the way of escaping from being murdered on land, is never to go out of the boat; but don't you think that my blunderbuss was as effectual a mean as your holiness? Tell me Mahomet, What did they do to you?" He said, they had not seen them come in, but had heard of them ever since they were at Metrahenny, and had waited to rob or murder them;

them ; that upon now hearing they were come, they had all ran to their houses for their arms, and were coming down immediately, to plunder the boat ; upon which he and the Moor ran off, and being met by these three people, and the boy, on the road, who had nothing in their hands, one of them snatched the turban off. He likewise added, that there were two parties in the town ; one in favour of Ali Bey, the other friends to a rebel Bey who had taken Miniet ; that they had fought two or three days ago, among themselves, and were going to fight again, each of them having called Arabs to their assistance.

Haslan and his son Mahomet were violently exasperated, and nothing would serve them but to go in again near the shore, and fire all the guns and blunderbusses among the people. But besides that Mr. Bruce had no inclination of that kind, he was very loth to frustrate the attempts of some future traveller, who might add this to the great remains of architecture preserved already.

At Reremont there are a great number of Persian wheels, to draw the water for the sugar canes, which belong to Christians. The water thus brought up from the river runs down to the plantations, below or behind the town, after being emptied on the banks above ; a proof that here the descent from the mountains is not an optic fallacy, as a former writer says.

They passed Ashmounein, probably the ancient Latopolis, a large town, which gives the name to the province, where there are magnificent ruins of Egyptian architecture ;* and
after

* Mr. Savary gives the following remarkable account of them :

The village of Achmounain, four miles to the north of Melaoui, is remarkable for the ruins it contains. Amongst the heaps of Rubbish it is surrounded with, one admires a superb portico, that has suffered nothing from time. It is one hundred feet long, twenty-five wide, and is supported by twelve columns, which have only a plain fascia by way of capital. Each column is composed of three blocks of granite, forming in all sixty feet in height, by twenty-five in circumference. The block which rests upon the base is simply rounded, and loaded with hieroglyphics, which commence with a pyramid. The two others are fluted. The columns are ten feet distant from each other, except the two middle ones, which, serving for the entrance, leave between them an interval of fifteen feet. Ten enormous stones cover the whole extent of the
portico.

after they came to Melawé, larger, better built, and better inhabited than Ashmounein, the residence of the Cacheff. Mahomet Aga was there at that time with troops from Cairo; he had taken Miniet, and, by the friendship of Shekh Hamam, the great Arab, governor of Upper Egypt, he kept all the people on that side of the river in allegiance to Ali Bey.

Our traveller here received about a gallon of brandy, and a jar of lemons and oranges, preserved in honey; both very agreeable. Likewise a lamb, and some garden stuffs. Among the sweetmeats was some horse-radish preserved like ginger, which certainly, though it might be wholesome, was the very worst stuff ever tasted. Mr. Bruce gave a good square piece of it, well wrapped in honey, to the Rais, who coughed and spit half an hour after, crying he was poisoned. They

portico. Over them is a double row. The two middle ones which rise in the form of a pediment, surpass the others in height and thickness. One is struck with astonishment at the sight of these masses of rocks that the art of man has been able to elevate to the height of sixty feet. The frieze which goes round it, is covered with hieroglyphics very well carved. We see the figures of birds, of insects, of men seated, to whom others seem to make offerings, and different sorts of animals. This is probably the history of the time, the place, and the deity in whose honour this monument was raised. The portico was painted red and blue. These colours are effaced in many places; but the lower part of the architrave which surrounds the colonnade, has preserved a gold colour astonishingly lively. It is the same with the ceiling, where the stars of gold shine upon an azure sky with a dazzling brilliancy. This monument, constructed before the conquest of the Persians, has neither the elegance nor the purity of the Grecian architecture; but its solidity, which it seems impossible to destroy, its awful simplicity, and its majesty, command admiration. What ideas must we entertain of the temple, or the palace, of which this announced the entry? I will confess to you, sir, that one cannot but be greatly surprised at finding amidst Arabian and Turkish huts, edifices which seem to have been the works of Genii. Their antiquity still adds to their estimation. Escaped from the ravages of destructive conquerors, stamped with the impression of ages, they impose a sort of veneration on the contemplating traveller. The modern Egyptians behold with indifference these beautiful remains of antiquity, and suffer them to subsist only because it would be too expensive to destroy them. Superstition and ignorance lead them to imagine, that they contain treasures; accordingly they do not permit travellers to take a faithful drawing of them. One exposes one's life in making the attempt. I shall relate to you what happened to Father Sicard whilst he was admiring the beauty of the portico of Achmounain, "Light not your censer," says the Arab his conductor gravely to him, for fear we should be surprised in the fact, and that we suffer for it."—"What do you mean? I have neither censer, nor fire, nor incense."—"You laugh at me; a stranger like you would not come here merely from curiosity."—"And what then?"—"I know that by your skill you are acquainted with the place where the great chest full of gold is hid, which our fathers left us. If your censer was seen, it would soon be imagined that you came here to open our chest by your magic words, and carry off our treasure."

They passed the Mollé, a small village with a great number of acacia trees intermixed with the plantations of palms. These occasion a pleasing variety, not only from the difference of the shape of the tree, but also from the colour and diversity of the green.

On the 20th, early in the morning, they again set sail and passed several villages, till at length they reached Siout, where the wind turned directly south, so they were obliged to stay at Tima the rest of the 20th, where Mr. Bruce went on shore. It is a small town, surrounded, like the rest, with groves of palm trees. The Nile is here full of sandy islands. Those that the inundation has first left are all sown, and are chiefly on the east. The others on the west were barren and uncultivated; all of them mostly composed of sand.

The 21st, in the morning, they came to Gawa, where is the second scene of ruins of Egyptian architecture, after leaving Cairo. Mr. Bruce immediately went on shore, and found a small temple of three columns in front, with the capitals entire, and the columns in several separate pieces. They seemed by that, and their slight proportions, to be of the most modern of that species of building; but the whole were covered with hieroglyphics, the old story over again, the hawk and the serpent, the man sitting with the dog's head, with the perch or measuring rod; in one hand, the hemisphere and globes with wings, and leaves of the banana tree, as is supposed, in the other. The temple is filled with rubbish and dung of cattle, which the Arabs bring in here to shelter them from the heat.

On the 22d, at night, they arrived at Achmim. Mr. Bruce landed with his quadrant and instruments, with a view of observing an eclipse of the moon; but, immediately after her rising, clouds and mist so effectually covered the whole heavens, that it was not even possible to catch a star of any size passing the meridian. Achmim is a very considerable place*.

The

* I cannot leave Achmim, says Mr. Savary, without telling you of a serpent which is the wonder of the country. Upwards of a century ago, a religious Turk, called Scheik Haridi, died here. He passed for a saint among the Mahometans.

The 24th of December they left Achmim, and came to the village Shekh Ali on the west, two miles and a quarter distant. They then passed Hamdi, and several other villages; and the next morning, the 25th, impatient to visit the greatest, and most magnificent scene of ruins that are in Upper Egypt, they set out from Beliani, and, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, arrived at Dendera. Although they had heard that the people of this place were the very worst in Egypt, they were not very apprehensive. They had two letters from the Bey, to two very principal men there, commanding them, as they would answer with their lives and fortunes, to have a special care that no mischief befel them; and likewise a very pressing letter to Shekh Hamam at Fourshout, in whose territory they were.

Dendera is a considerable town at this day, all covered with thick groves of palm-trees, the same that Juvenal describes it to have been in his time. A mile south of the town are ruins of two temples, one of which is so much buried under

etans. They raised a monument to him, covered with a cupola, at the foot of a mountain. The people flocked from all parts to offer up their prayers to him. One of their priests, adroitly profiting by their credulity, persuaded them that God had made the soul of Scheilk Haridi pass into the body of a serpent. Many of these are found in the Thebais, which are harmless. He had taught one to obey his voice. He appeared with his serpent, dazzled the vulgar by his surprising tricks, and pretended to cure all disorders. Some lucky instances of success, due to nature alone, and sometimes to the imagination of the patients, gave him great celebrity. He soon connived his serpent Haridi to the tomb, producing him only to oblige princes, and persons capable of giving him a handsome recompense. The successors of this priest, brought up in the same principles, found no difficulty in giving sanction to so advantageous an error. They added to the general persuasion of his virtue, that of his immortality. They had the boldness even to make a public proof of it. The serpent was cut in pieces in presence of the Emir, and placed for two hours under a vase. At the instant of lifting up the vase, the priests, no doubt, had the address to substitute one exactly resembling it. A miracle was proclaimed, and the immortal Haridi acquired a fresh degree of consideration. This knavery procures them great advantages. The people flock from all quarters to pray at this tomb; and if the serpent crawls out from under the stone, and approaches the suppliant, it is a sign that his malady will be cured. You may imagine, that he does not appear till an offering has been made proportioned to the quality and riches of the different persons. In extraordinary cases, where the sick person cannot be cured without the presence of the serpent, a pure virgin must come to solicit him. To avoid inconveniencies on this head, they take care to choose a very young girl indeed. She is decked out in her best clothes, and crowned with flowers. She puts herself in a praying attitude, and as the priests are inclined, the serpent comes out, makes circles round the young suppliant and goes and reposes on her. The virgin accompanied by a vast multitude, carries him in triumph, amidst the general acclamation.

der ground, that little of it is to be seen; but the other, which is by far the most magnificent, is entire, and accessible on every side. It is also covered with hieroglyphics, both within and without, all in relief; and of every figure, simple and compound, that ever has been published, or called an hieroglyphic.

The form of the building is an oblong square, the ends of which are occupied by two large apartments, or vestibules, supported by monstrous columns, all covered with hieroglyphics likewise. Some are in form of men and beasts; some seem to be the figures of instruments of sacrifice, while others, in a smaller size, and less distinct form, seem to be inscriptions in the current hand of hieroglyphics. They are all finished with care.

The capitals are of one piece, and consist of four huge human heads, placed back to back against one another, with bat's ears, and an ill-imagined, and worse executed, fold drapery between them. Above these is a large oblong square block, still larger than the capitals, with four flat fronts, disposed like pannels, that is, with a kind of square border round the edges, while the faces and fronts are filled with hieroglyphics: as are the walls and cielings of every part of the temple. Between these two apartments in the extremities, there are three other apartments, resembling the first in every respect, only that they are smaller. The whole building is of common white stone, from the neighbouring mountains, only those two, in which have been sunk the pirms for hanging the outer doors, (for it seems they had doors even in those days) are of granite, or black and blue porphyry.

The top of the temple is flat, the spouts to carry off the water are monstrous heads of sphinxes; the globes with wings, and the two serpents, with a kind of shield or breast plate between, are here frequently repeated, such as we see them on the Carthaginian medals.

The hieroglyphics have been painted over, and great part of the colouring yet remains upon the stones, red, in all its shades, especially that dark dusky colour called Tyrian purple!

purple; yellow, very fresh; sky-blue (that is, near the blue of an eastern sky, several shades lighter than ours;) green of different shades; these are all the colours preserved.

A little before our traveller came to Dendera, they saw the first crocodile, and afterwards hundreds, lying upon every island, like large flocks of cattle; yet the inhabitants of Dendera drive their beasts of every kind into the river, and they stand there for hours. The girls and women too, that come to fetch water in jars, stand up to their knees in the water for a considerable time; and if we may guess by what happens, their danger is full as little as their fear, for none of them, as far as our travellers could learn, had been bitten by a crocodile. However, if the Denderites were as keen and expert hunters of crocodiles, as some historians tell us they formerly were, there is surely no part of the Nile where they would have better sport than here immediately before their own city.

Mr. Bruce having viewed the ruins, proceeded to Furskout, and went to the convent of Italian Friars, who, like those of Achmim, are of the order of the reformed Franciscans.

Furskout is in a large and cultivated plain. It is nine miles over to the foot of the mountains, all sown with wheat. There are, likewise, plantations of sugar canes. The town, as they said, contains above 10,000 people, but this computation is perhaps rather exaggerated.

While our travellers were at Furskout, there happened a very extraordinary phenomenon. It rained the whole night, and till about nine o'clock next morning; when the people began to be very apprehensive lest the whole town should be destroyed. It is a perfect prodigy to see rain here; and the prophets said it portended a dissolution of government, which was justly verified soon afterwards, and at that time indeed was extremely probable.

They left Furskout the 7th of January 1769, early in the morning. They had not hired their boat farther than Furskout; but the good terms which subsisted between Mr. Bruce

Bruce and the saint, his Rais, made an accommodation very easy to carry them farther. He now agreed for 4l. to carry them to Syene and down again; but if he behaved well, he expected a trifling premium. "And, if you behave ill, Hassan, (said Mr. Bruce) what do you think you deserve?"—"To be hanged, (said he) I deserve, and desire no better."

The wind at first was but scant; however, it freshened up towards noon, when they passed a large town called How, on the west side of the Nile. About four o'clock in the afternoon they arrived at El Gourni, a small village, a quarter of a mile distant from the Nile. It has in it a temple of old Egyptian architecture. Mr. Bruce thinks, that this, and the two adjoining heaps of ruins, which are at the same distance from the Nile, probably might have been part of the ancient Thebes.

Nothing remains of the ancient Thebes* but four prodigious temples, all of them in appearance more ancient, but neither so entire, nor so magnificent, as those of Dendera. The temples at Medinet Tabu are the most elegant of these. The hieroglyphics are cut to the depth of half-a-foot, in some places, but we have still the same figures, or rather a less variety, than at Dendera.

A number of robbers, who much resemble our gypsies, live in the holes of the mountains above Thebes. They are all out-laws, and punished with death if elsewhere found. Osman Bey, an ancient governor of Girgé, unable to suffer any longer

* The following extract from D. Siculus, affords some idea of the ancient splendor of Thebes.

"The Great Diospolis, by the Greeks called Thebes, says Diodorus Siculus, was six leagues in circumference. Busiris its founder erected there superb edifices, which he enriched with magnificent presents. The fame of her power, and of her riches, celebrated by Homer, filled the universe. Her gates, and the numerous vestibules of her temples, induced this poet to bestow on her the name of Ecatompyle, or the city with an hundred gates. Never did city receive so many offerings in gold, in silver, in ivory, in colossal statues, and in obelisks of a single stone. Above all were to be admired, her four principal temples. The most ancient was most surprisingly grand and sumptuous. It was half a league round, and was encompassed by walls four and twenty feet thick, and seventy high. The richness and finishing of the ornaments correspond with its grandeur. Several kings contributed to embellish it. It still subsists, but the gold, the silver, the ivory, and the precious stones, were carried off, when Cambyfes set fire to all the Egyptian temples."

longer the disorders committed by these people, ordered a quantity of dried faggots to be brought together, and with his soldiers, took possession of the face of the mountain, where the greatest number of these wretches were : He then ordered all their caves to be filled with this dry brush-wood, to which he set fire, so that most of them were destroyed ; but they have since recruited their numbers, without changing their manners.

About half a mile north of El Gourni, are the magnificent, stupendous sepulchres of Thebes. The mountains of the Thebaid come close behind the town ; they are not connected with each other in ridges, but stand insulated upon their bases ; so that you can get round each of them. A hundred of these, it is said, are excavated into sepulchral, and a variety of other apartments.

Luxor, and Carnac, which is a mile and a quarter below it, are by far the largest and most magnificent scenes of ruins in Egypt, much more extensive and stupendous than those of Thebes and Dendera put together.

There are two obelisks here of great beauty, and in good preservation ; they are less than those at Rome, but not at all mutilated. The pavement, which is made to receive the shadow, is to this day so horizontal, it might still be used in observation.

At Carnac they saw the remains of two vast rows of sphinxes, one on the right hand, the other on the left, (their heads were mostly broken) and, a little lower, a number as it should seem of termini. They were composed of basalt, with a dog or lion's head, of Egyptian sculpture. They stood in lines likewise, as if intended as an avenue to some principal building.

On the 17th, our travellers left Luxor, and sailed with a very fair wind, and in great spirits. In the evening, they came to an anchor on the eastern shore nearly opposite to Esné. They passed over to Esné next morning. It is the ancient Latopolis, and has very great remains, particularly a large temple, which, though the whole of it is of the remot-

est antiquity, seems to have been built at different times, or rather out of the ruins of different ancient buildings. The hieroglyphics upon this are very ill executed, and are not painted. The town is the residence of an Arab Shekh, and the inhabitants are a very bad sort of people; but as Mr. Bruce was dressed like an Arab, they did not molest, because they did not know him.

On the 18th, they left Efné, and passed the town of Edfu, where there are likewise considerable remains of Egyptian architecture.

The wind failing, they were obliged to stop in a very poor, desolate, and dangerous part of the Nile, called Jibbel el Silfelly, where a boom, or chain, was drawn across the river, to hinder, as is supposed, the Nubian boats from committing piratical practices in Egypt lower down the stream.

About noon, they passed Coom Ombo, a round building like a castle, and then arrived at Daroo, a miserable mansion, unconscious that, some years after, they were to be indebted to that paltry village for the man who was to guide them through the desert, and restore them to their native country and their friends.

On the 20th, they sailed with a favourable wind till about an hour before sun-rise, and about nine o'clock came to an anchor on the south end of the palm groves, and north end of the town of Syene, nearly opposite to an island in which there is a small handsome Egyptian temple, pretty entire. It is the temple of *Cnuphis*, where formerly was the Nilometer.

Adjoining to the palm trees was a very good comfortable house, belonging to Hussein Schourbatchie, the man that used to be sent from that place to Cairo, to receive the pay of the janissaries in garrison at Syene, upon whom too Mr. Bruce had credit for a very small sum.

They passed out at the south gate of the town, into the first small sandy plain. A very little to the left there are a number of tomb stones, with inscriptions in the Cusic character, which travellers erroneously have called an *unknown* language

language and letters, although it was the only letter and language known to Mahomet, and the most learned of his sect in the first ages.

After passing the tomb stones without the gate, they came to a plain about five miles long, bordered on the left by a hill of no considerable height, and sandy like the plain, upon which are seen some ruins, more modern than those Egyptian buildings already described. They seem indeed to be a mixture of all kinds and ages.

The distance from the gate of the town to Termiffi, or Marada, the small villages on the cataract, is exactly six English miles. After the description already given of this cataract in some authors, a traveller has reason to be surprised, when arrived on its banks, to find that vessels sail up the cataract, and consequently the fall cannot be so violent as to deprive people of hearing.

The bed of the river, occupied by the water, was not then half a mile broad. It is divided into a number of small channels, by large blocks of granite, from thirty to forty feet high. The current, confined for a long course between the rocky mountains of Nubia, tries to expand itself with great violence. Finding, in every part before it, opposition from the rocks of granite, and forced back by these, it meets the opposite currents. The chasing of the water against these huge obstacles, the meeting of the contrary currents one with another, creates such a violent ebullition, and makes such a noise and disturbed appearance, that it fills the mind with confusion, rather than terror.

On the 22d, 23d, and 24th of January, our travellers being at Syene, in a house immediately east of the small island in the Nile, by a mean of three observations of the sun in the meridian, Mr. Bruce concluded the latitude of Syene to be $24^{\circ} 0' 45''$ north.

As Mr. Bruce was now about to launch into that part of his expedition, in which he was to have no further intercourse with Europe, he set himself to work to examine all his observations, and put his journal in such forwardness by explanations,

planations, where needful, that the labours and pains he had hitherto been at, might not be totally lost to the public, if he should perish in the journey he had undertaken, which every day, from all information he could procure, appeared to be more and more desperate.

Having finished these, at least so far as to make them intelligible to others, he conveyed them to his friends at Cairo, to remain in their custody till he should return, or news come that he was otherwise disposed of.

On Thursday the 16th of February 1769, Mr. Bruce heard the caravan was ready to set out for Kenné, the Cæne Emporium of antiquity. All the way from Kenné, close to their left, were desert hills, on which not the least verdure grew, but a few plants of a large species of *Solanum*, called *Bur-rumbac*.

On the 17th, at eight o'clock in the morning, Mr. Bruce, having mounted his servants all on horseback, and taken the charge of their own camels, (for there was a confusion in their caravan not to be described, and the guards they knew were but a set of thieves) they advanced slowly into the desert. There were about two hundred men on horseback, armed with firelocks; all of them lions, if you believed their word or appearance; but our travellers were credibly informed, that fifty of the Arabs, at first sight, would have made these heroes fly without any bloodshed.

Our traveller's road was all the way in an open plain, bounded by hillocks of sand, and fine gravel, perfectly hard, and not perceptibly above the level of the plain country of Egypt. About twelve miles distant there is a ridge of mountains of no considerable height, perhaps the most barren in the world. Between these their road lay through plains, never three miles broad, but without trees, shrubs, or herbs. There are not even the traces of any living creature, neither serpent nor lizard, antelope nor ostrich, the usual inhabitants of the most dreary deserts. There is no sort of water on the surface, brackish or sweet. Even the birds seem to avoid the place as pestilential, not one being seen of any kind so much

as flying over. The sun was burning hot, and upon rubbing two sticks together, in half a minute, they both took fire, and flamed; a mark how near the country was reduced to a general conflagration!

At half past three, they pitched their tent near some draw-wells, which, upon tasting, they found bitterer than foot. They had, indeed, other water carried by the camels in skins. This well-water had only one needful quality, it was cold, and therefore very comfortable for refreshing them outwardly. This unpleasant station is called Legeta; here they were obliged to pass the night, and all next day, to wait the arrival of the caravan of Cus, Efné, and a part of those of Kenne and Ebanout.

In the evening came twenty Turks from Caramania, which is that part of Asia Minor immediately on the side of the Mediterranean opposite to the coast of Egypt; all of them neatly and cleanly dressed like Turks, all on camels, armed with swords, a pair of pistols at their girdle, and a short neat gun; their arms were in very good order, with their flints and ammunition stowed in cartridge-boxes, in a very soldier-like manner. A few of these spoke Arabic, and Mr. Bruce's Greek servant, Michael, interpreted for the rest. Having been informed, that the large tent belonged to an Englishman, they came into it without ceremony. They told Mr. Bruce, that they were a number of neighbours and companions, who had set out together to go to Mecca to the Hadje; and not knowing the language or customs of the people, they had been but indifferently used since they landed at Alexandria, particularly somewhere about Achmim; that one of the Owam, or swimming thieves, had been on board of them in the night, and had carried off a small portmanteau with about 200 sequins in gold; that, though a complaint had been made to the Bey of Girgeé, yet no satisfaction had been obtained; and that now they had heard an Englishman was here, whom they reckoned their *countryman*, they had come to propose, that they should make a common cause to defend each other against all enemies.—What they meant by *countryman* was this:—There is in Asia Minor, somewhere between Anatolia and Caramania, a district which they call Caz Dagli, and
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this the Turks believe was the country from which the English first drew their origin ; and on this account they never fail to claim kindred with the English wherever they meet, especially if they stand in need of their assistance.

Mr. Bruce says, he cannot conceal the secret pleasure he had in finding the character of his country so firmly established among nations so distant, enemies to our religion, and strangers to our government. Turks from Mount Taurus, and Arabs from the desert of Libya, thought themselves unsafe among their own countrymen, but trusted their lives and their little fortunes implicitly to the direction and word of an Englishman whom they had never before seen.

They staid all the 18th at Legeta, waiting for the junction of the caravans, and departed the 19th at six o'clock in the morning. Their journey, all that day, was through a plain, never less than a mile broad, and never broader than three; the hills, on their right and left, were higher than the former, and of a brownish calcined colour, like the stones on the sides of Mount Vesuvius, but without any herb or tree upon them.

At half past ten, they passed a mountain of green and red marble, and at twelve they entered a plain called Hamra, where they first observed the sand red, with a purple cast, of the colour of porphyry, and this is the signification of Hamra, the name of the valley.

Mr. Bruce dismounted here, to examine of what the rocks were composed ; and found that here began the quarries of porphyry, without the mixture of any other stone ; but it was imperfect, brittle, and soft. He had not been engaged in this pursuit an hour, before they were alarmed with a report that the Atonni had attacked the rear of the caravan; they were at the head of it. The Turks and his servants were all drawn together, at the foot of the mountain, and posted as advantageously as possible. But it soon appeared, that they were some thieves only, who had attempted to steal some loads of corn from camels that were weak, or fallen lame, perhaps in intelligence with those of their own caravans.

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On the 20th, at six o'clock in the morning, they left Main-el Mafarek, and, at ten, came to the mouth of the defiles. At eleven they began to descend, having had a very imperceptible ascent from Kenné all the way.

On the 21st, they departed early in the morning from Koraïm, and, at ten o'clock, they passed several defiles, perpetually alarmed by a report, that the Arabs were approaching; none of whom they ever saw.

At length they arrived at Cosséir, a small mud-walled village, built upon the shore, among hillocks of floating sand. It is defended by a square fort of hewn stone, with square towers in the angles, which have in them three small cannon of iron, and one of brass, all in very bad condition; of no other use but to terrify the Arabs, and hinder them from plundering the town when full of corn, going to Mecca in time of famine. The walls are not high; nor was it necessary, if the great guns were in order. But as this is not the case, the ramparts are heightened by clay, or by mud walls, to screen the soldiers from the fire-arms of the Arabs, that might otherwise command them from the sandy hills in the neighbourhood.

The port, if we may call it so, is on the south-east of the town. It is nothing but a rock, which runs out about four hundred yards into the sea, and defends the vessels, which ride to the west of it, from the north and north-east winds, as the houses of the town cover them from the north-west. There is a large inclosure, with a high mud wall, and, within, every merchant has a shop or magazine for his corn and merchandise: little of this last is imported, unless coarse India goods, for the consumption of Upper Egypt, since the trade to Dongala and Sennaar has been interrupted.

Mr. Bruce found, by many meridian altitudes of the sun, taken at the castle, that Cosséir is in latitude $26^{\circ} 7' 51''$ north; and, by three observations of Jupiter's satellites, he found its longitude to be $34^{\circ} 4' 15''$ east of the meridian of Greenwich.

The caravan from Syene arrived at this time, escorted by four

four hundred Ababdé, all upon camels, each armed with two short javelins. The manner of their riding was very whimsical; they had two small saddles on each camel, and sat back to back, which might be, in their practice, convenient enough; but, if they had been to fight with our travellers, every ball would have killed two of them.

Mr. Bruce now took up his quarters in the castle, and as the Ababdé had told strange stories about the Mountain of Emeralds, he determined, till his captain should return, to make a voyage thither. There was no possibility of knowing the distance by report; sometimes it was twenty-five miles, sometimes it was fifty, and sometimes it was a hundred.

He chose a man who had been twice at these mountains of emeralds, and with the best boat then in the harbour, on Tuesday the 14th of March, they sailed, with the wind at north east, from the harbour of Cosseir, about an hour before the dawn of day. They kept coasting along with a very moderate wind, much diverted with the red and green appearances of the marble mountains on the coast. Their vessel had one sail, like a straw mattrafs, made of the leaves of a kind of a palm tree, which they call *Doom*. It was fixed above, and drew up like a curtain, but did not lower with a yard like a sail; so that upon stress of weather, if the sail was furled, it was so top-heavy, that the ship must founder; or the mast be carried away. But, by way of indemnification, the planks of the vessel were sewed together, and there was not a nail, nor a piece of iron, in the whole ship; so that when you struck upon a rock seldom any damage ensued.

On the 15th, about nine o'clock, Mr. Bruce saw a large high rock, like a pillar, rising out of the sea. At first, he took it for a part of the continent; but, as he advanced nearer it, the sun being very clear, and the sea calm, he took an observation, and as their situation was lat. $25^{\circ} 6'$, and the island about a league distant, to the S. S. W. of them, he concluded its latitude to be pretty exactly $25^{\circ} 3'$ north. This island is about three miles from the shore, of an oval form, rising in the middle. It seems to be of a granite; and is called, in the language of the country, Jibbel Siberget, which

has been translated *the Mountain of Emeralds*. *Siberget*, however, is a word in the language of the *Shepherds*, who, probably, never in their lives saw an emerald; and though the Arabic translation is *Jibbel Zumrud*, and that word has been transferred to the emerald, a very fine stone, oftener seen since the discovery of the new world, yet Mr. Bruce very much doubts, whether either *Siberget* or *Zumrud* ever meant Emerald in old times.

On the 16th, at day break in the morning, our traveller took the Arab of *Coffeir* with him, who knew the place. They landed on a point perfectly desert; at first, sandy like *Coffeir*, afterwards, where the soil was fixed, producing some few plants of rue or absinthium. They advanced above three miles farther in a perfectly desert country, with only a few acacia-trees scattered here and there, and came to the foot of the mountains.

At the foot of the mountain, or about seven yards up from the base of it, are five pits or shafts, none of them four feet in diameter, called the *Zumrud Wells*, from which the ancients are said to have drawn the emeralds. Our travellers were not provided with materials, and little endowed with inclination, to descend into any one of them, where the air was probably bad. Mr. Bruce picked up the nozzels, and some fragments of lamps, like those of which we find millions in Italy; and some worn fragments, but very small ones, of that brittle green chrystal, which is the *siberget* and *bilur* of Ethiopia, perhaps the *zumrud*, the *smaragdus* described by Pliny, but by no means the emerald, known since the discovery of the new world, whose first character absolutely defeats its pretension, the true Peruvian emerald being equal in hardness to the ruby.

Mr. Bruce, having satisfied his curiosity as to these mountains, without having seen a living creature, returned to his boat, where he found all well, and an excellent dinner of fish prepared.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, with a favourable wind and fine weather, they continued along the coast, with

an easy sail. They saw no appearance of any inhabitants; the mountains were broken and pointed, taking the direction of the coast, advancing and receding as the shore itself did. They continued this voyage, and, after encountering storms that were nearly proving fatal to them, they arrived safe at Cossair, on the 19th, about the close of the evening.

On the 5th of April, Mr. Bruce, after having made his last observation of longitude at Cossair, embarked on board a vessel he had procured for the purpose, and sailed from that port. It was necessary to conceal from some of his servants his intention of proceeding to the bottom of the Gulph, lest finding themselves among Christians so near Cairo, they might desert a voyage of which they were sick, before it was well begun.

In the morning of the 6th, they made the Jassateen Islands. They are four in number, joined by shoals and sunken rocks. They are crooked, or bent, like half a bow, and are dangerous for ships sailing in the night, because there seems to be a passage between them, to which, when pilots are attending, they neglect two small dangerous sunk rocks, that lie almost in the middle of the entrance, in deep water.

On the 9th. they arrived at Tor, a small straggling village, with a convent of Greek Monks, belonging to Mount Sinai. Don John de Castro took this town when it was walled and fortified, soon after the discovery of the Indies by the Portuguese; it has never since been of any consideration. It serves now only as a watering place for ships going to and from Suez. From this we have a distinct view of the points of the mountains Horeb and Sinai, which appear behind and above the others, their tops being often covered with snow in winter.

The Rais, having dispatched his business was anxious to depart; and, accordingly, on the 11th of April, at day-break, they stood out of the harbour of Tor. At night, by an observation of two stars in the meridian, Mr. Bruce concluded the latitude of Cape Mahomet to be $27^{\circ} 54'$, N. It must be understood of the mountain or high land, which forms the
Cape,

Cape, not the low point. The ridge of rocks that run along behind Tor, bound that low sandy country, called the Desert of Sin, to the eastward, and end in this Cape, which is the high land observed at sea; but the lower part, or southermost extreme of the Cape, runs about three leagues off from the high land, and is so low, that it cannot be seen from deck above three leagues.

On the 12th, they sailed from Cape Mahomet, just as the sun appeared. They passed the island of Tyrone, in the mouth of the Elanitic Gulf, which divides it near equally into two; or rather the north-west side is narrowest. The direction of the Gulf is nearly north and south.

On the 15th they came to an anchor at El Har, where they saw high, craggy and broken mountains, called the Mountains of Ruddua. These abound with springs of water; all sort of Arabian and African fruits grow here in perfection, and every kind of vegetable that they will take the pains to cultivate. It is the paradise of the people of Yambo; those of any substance have country houses there; but, strange to tell, they stay there but for a short time, and prefer the bare, dry, and burning sands about Yambo, to one of the finest climates, and most verdant pleasant countries, that exists in the world. The people of the place told Mr. Bruce, that water freezes there in winter, and that there are some of the inhabitants who have red hair, and blue eyes, a thing scarcely ever seen but in the coldest mountains in the east.

On the 16th, about ten o'clock, they passed a mosque, or Shekh's tomb on the main land, on their left hand, called Kubbet Yambo, and before eleven they anchored in the mouth of the port in deep water. Yambo, corruptly called Imbo, is an ancient city, now dwindled to a paltry village. Yambo, in the language of the country, signifies a fountain or spring, a very copious one of excellent water being found there among the date trees, and it is one of the stations of the Emir Hadje in going to, and coming from Mecca. The advantage of the port, however, which the other has not, and the protection of the castle, have carried trading vessels to the modern Yambó, where there is no water but what is brought from pools dug on purpose to receive the rain when it falls.

Yambo,

Yambo, or at least the present town of that name, Mr. Bruce found, by many observations of the sun and stars to be in latitude $24^{\circ} 3' 35''$ north, and in long. $38^{\circ} 16' 30''$ east from the meridian of Greenwich.

The many delays of loading the wheat, the desire of doubling the quantity Mr. Bruce had been permitted to take, detained him at Yambo till the 27th of April, very much against his inclination. For he was not a little uneasy at thinking among what a banditti he lived, whose daily wish was to rob and murder him, from which they were restrained by fear only; and this, a fit of drunkenness or a piece of bad news, such as a report of Ali B y's death, might remove in a moment. Indeed they were allowed to want nothing. A sheep, some bad beer, and some very good wheatbread, were delivered to them every day from the Aga, which, with dates and honey. and a variety of presents from those that Mr. Bruce attended as a physician, made them pass their time comfortably enough; they went frequently in the boats to fish at sea, and as our traveller had brought with him three fizgigs of different sizes, with the proper lines, he seldom returned without killing four or five dolphins. The sport with the line was likewise excellent. They had vinegar in plenty at Yambo, onions, and several other greens, from Raddua; and being all cooks, they lived well.

On the 28th of April, in the morning, they sailed with a cargo of wheat that did not belong to them, and three passengers instead of one, from whom only Mr. Bruce had undertaken. After touching at different islands, on the 3d of May, they arrived at Jidda, close upon the quay, where the officers of the custom-house immediately took possession of their baggage.

The port of Jidda is very extensive, consisting of numberless shoals, small islands, and sunken rocks, with channels, however between them, and deep water. You are very safe in Jidda harbour whatever wind blows, as there are numberless shoals which prevent the water from ever being put into any general motion; and you may moor head and stern, with twenty anchors out if you please. But the danger of being
lost,

lost, perhaps lies in the going in and coming out of the harbour. Indeed the observation is here verified, the more *dangerous* the *part*, the *abler* the *pilots*, and no accidents ever happen.

* Of all the new things Mr. Bruce had yet seen, what most astonished him was the manner in which trade was carried on at this place. Nine ships were there from India; some of them worth perhaps 200,000*l*. One merchant, a Turk, living at Mecca, thirty hours journey off, where no Christian dares go, whilst the whole Continent is open to the Turk for escape, offers to purchase the cargoes of four out of nine of these ships himself; another, of the same cast, comes and says, he will buy none unless he has them all. The samples are shewn, and the cargoes of the whole nine ships are carried into the wildest part of Arabia, by men with whom one would not wish to trust himself alone in the field. This is not all, two India brokers come into the room to settle the price. One on the part of the India captain, the other on that of the buyer*the Turk. They are neither Mahometans nor Christians, but have credit with both. They sit down on the carpet, and take an India shawl, which they carry on their shoulder, like a napkin, and spread it over their hands. They talk, in the mean time, on different subjects, of the arrival of ships from India, or of the news of the day, as if they were employed in no serious business whatever. After about twenty minutes spent in handling each others fingers below the shawl, the bargain is concluded, say for nine ships, without one word ever having been spoken on the subject, or pen or ink used in any shape whatever. There never was one instance of a dispute happening in these sales.

Matters are to be carried still further, and the money is to be paid. A private Moor, who has nothing to support him but his character, becomes responsible for the payment of these cargoes; his name was Ibrahim Saraf when Mr. Bruce was there, *i. e.* Ibrahim the broker. This man delivers a number of coarse hempen bags, full of what is supposed to be money. He marks the contents upon the bag, and puts his seal upon the string that ties the mouth of it. This is received for what is marked upon it, without any one ever

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having

having opened one of the bags, and, in India, it is current for the value marked upon it, as long as the bag lasts.

Jidda, as well as all the east coast of the Red Sea, is very unwholesome. Immediately without the gate of that town, to the eastward, is a desert plain filled with the huts of the Bedowéens, or country Arabs, built of long bundles of spartum, or bent grass, put together like fascines. These Bedowéens supply Jidda with milk and butter. There is no stirring out of town, even for a walk, unless for about half a mile, on the south side by the sea, where there is a number of stinking pools of stagnant water, which contributes to make the town very unwholesome.

This place, besides being in the most unwholesome part of Arabia, is, at the same time, in the most barren and desert situation. This, and many other inconveniences, under which it labours, would, probably, have occasioned its being abandoned altogether, were it not for its vicinity to Mecca, and the great and sudden influx of wealth from the India trade, which, once a-year, arrives in this part, but does not continue, passing on, as through a turnpike, to Mecca; whence it is dispersed all over the east. Very little advantage, however, accrues to Jidda. The customs are all immediately sent to a needy sovereign, and a hungry set of relations, dependents, and ministers at Mecca. The gold is returned in bags and boxes, and passes on as rapidly to the ships as the goods do to the market, and leaves as little profit behind. In the mean time, provisions rise to a prodigious price, and this falls upon the townsmen, while all the profit of the traffic is in the hands of strangers; most of whom, after the market is over, (which does not last six weeks) retire to Yemen, and other neighbouring countries, which abound in every sort of provision.

Though Jidda is the country of their prophet, yet no where are there so many unmarried women, and the permission of marrying four wives was allowed in this district in the first instance, and afterwards communicated to all the tribes. But Mahomet, in his permission of plurality of wives, seems constantly to have been on his guard, against suffering that, which was.

was intended for the welfare of his people, from operating in a different manner. He did not permit a man to marry two, three, or four wives, unless he could maintain them. He was interested for the rights and rank of these women; and the man so marrying was obliged to shew before the Cadi, or some equivalent officer, or judge, that it was in his power to support them, according to their birth. It was not so with concubines, with women who were purchased, or who were taken in war. Every man enjoyed these at his pleasure, and their peril, that is, whether he was able to maintain them or not. From this great scarcity of provisions, which is the result of an extraordinary concourse to a place almost destitute of the necessaries of life, few inhabitants of Jidda can avail themselves of the privilege granted them by Mahomet. He therefore cannot marry more than one wife, because he cannot maintain more, and from this cause arises the want of people, and the large number of unmarried women.

The kindness and attention Mr. Bruce here received from his countrymen did not leave him as long as he was on shore. They all did him the honour to attend him to the water edge. All the quay of Jidda was lined with people to see the English salute, and along with his vessel there parted, at the same time, one bound to Masuah, which carried Mahomet Abd el kader, governor of Dahalac, over to his government.

Jidda is in latitude $28^{\circ} 0' 1''$ north, and in longitude $39^{\circ} 16' 45''$ east of the meridian of Greenwich. The weather there had few changes, and the general wind was north-west, or more northerly. This blowing along the direction of the gulph, brought a great deal of damp along with it; and this damp increases as the season advances. Once in twelve or fourteen days, perhaps, they had a south wind, which was always dry.

On the 8th of July, 1769, Mr. Bruce sailed from the harbour of Jidda, on board the same vessel as before, and suffered the Rais to take a small loading for his own account, upon condition that he was to carry no passengers. The wind was fair, and they sailed through the British fleet at their anchors. As they had all honoured our traveller with their regret at parting,

parting, and accompanied him to the shore, the Rais was surprised to see the respect paid to his little vessel as it passed under their huge sterns, every one hoisting his colours, and saluting it with eleven guns.

At a quarter past eight, on the eleventh, they were towed to their anchorage in the harbour of Konfodah. Konfodah means the town of the hedge-hog. It is a small village, consisting of about two hundred miserable houses, built with green wood, and covered with mats, made of the doom, or palm-tree, lying on a bay, or rather a shallow basin, in a desert waste or plain. Behind the town are small hillocks of white sand. Nothing grows on shore excepting kelp, but it is exceedingly beautiful, and very luxuriant; farther in there are gardens. Fish is in perfect plenty; butter and milk in great abundance; even the desert looks fresher than other deserts, which makes it probable that rain sometimes falls there.

Konfodah is in latitude $19^{\circ} 7'$ north. It is one of the most unwholesome parts on the Red Sea, provision is very dear and bad, and the water execrable. Goats flesh is the only meat, and that very dear and lean. The anchorage, from the castle, bears north-west a quarter of a mile distant, from ten to seven fathoms, in sand and mud.

At five in the afternoon of the 14th, they passed Ras Heli, which is the boundary between Yemen, or Arabia Felix, and the Hejaz, or province of Mecca, the first belonging to the Imam, or king of Sana, the other to the Shereef lately spoken of. Mr. Bruce desired his Rais to anchor this night close under the Cape, as it was perfectly calm and clear, and, by taking a mean of five observations of the passage of so many stars, the most proper for the purpose, over the meridian, he determined the latitude of Ras Heli, and consequently the boundary of the two states, Hejez and Yemen, or Arabia Felix and Arabia Deserta, to be $18^{\circ} 36'$ north.

Every part of the sandy desert at the foot of the mountains is called *Tehama*, which extends to Mocha. But in the maps it is marked as a separate country from Arabia Felix, whereas it is but the low part, or sea-coast of it, and is not a separate

rate jurisdiction. It is called *Tema* in scripture, and derives its name from *Taami* in Arabic, which signifies the sea-coast. There is little water here, as it never rains; there is also no animal but the gazel or antelope, and but a few of them. There are few birds, and those which may be found are generally silent.

On the 18th, at seven in the morning, they first discovered the mountains, under which lies the town of oheia. The bay was so shallow, and the tide being at ebb, they could get no nearer than within about five miles of the shore. Loheia is built upon the south-west side of a peninsula, surrounded every where, but on the east, by the sea. In the middle of this neck there is a small mountain which serves for a fortress, and there are towers with cannon, which reach across on each side of the hill to the shore. Beyond this is a plain, where the Arabs intending to attack the town, generally assemble. At Loheia they had a very uneasy sensation, a kind of prickling came into their legs, which were bare, occasioned by the salt effluvia, or steams, from the earth, which all about the town, and further to the south, is strongly impregnated with that mineral. Fish, and butchers meat, and indeed all sorts of provisions, are plentiful and reasonable at Loheia, but the water is bad. It is found in the sand at the foot of the mountains, down the sides of which it has fallen in the time of the rain, and is brought to the town in skins upon camels. There is also plenty of fruit brought from the mountains by the Bedowee, who live in the skirts of the town, and supply it with milk, firewood, and fruit, chiefly grapes and bananas.

The government of the Imam is much more gentle than any Moorish government in Arabia or Africa; the people too are of gentler manners, the men, from early ages, being accustomed to trade. The women at Loheia are as solicitous to please as those of the most polished nations in Europe; and, though very retired, whether married or unmarried, they are not less careful of their dress and persons. At home they were nothing but a long shift of fine cotton cloth, suitable to their quality. They die their feet and hands with henna, not only for ornament, but as an astringent, to keep them dry from sweat; they wear their own hair, which is plaited, and falls in long tails behind.

On the 27th, in the evening, they parted from Loheia, but were obliged to tow the boat out. About eleven they sailed with a wind at north-east, and passed a cluster of islands on their left.

After passing some dangerous shoals, on the 30th, at seven o'clock in the morning, with a gentle but steady wind at west, they sailed for the mouth of the Indian Ocean. The Rais became more lively and bolder as he approached his own coast, and offered to carry Mr. Bruce for nothing, if he would go home with him to Sheher, but he had already enough upon his hands.

The coast of Arabia, all along from Mocha to the Straits, is a bold coast, close to which you may run without danger night or day. They continued their course within a mile of the shore, where in some places there appeared to be small woods, in others a flat bare country, bounded with mountains a considerable distance. The wind freshened as they advanced. About four in the afternoon, they saw the mountain which forms one of the Capes of the Straits of Babelmandeb, in shape resembling a gunner's quoin.

The 31st, at nine in the morning, they came to an anchor above Jibbel Raban, or Pilot's Island, just under the Cape, which, on the Arabian side, forms the north entrance of the Straits. After getting within the Straits, the channel is divided into two, by the island of Perim, otherwise called *Melhum*. The inmost and northern channel, or that towards the Arabian shore, is two leagues broad at most, and from twelve to seventeen fathom of water. The other entry is three leagues broad, with deep water, from twenty to thirty fathom. From this, the coast on both sides runs nearly in a north-west direction, widening as it advances, and the Indian Ocean grows straiter. The coast upon the left hand is part of the kingdom of Adel, and, on the right, that of Arabia Felix.

On the 2d, at sun-rise, they saw land a-head, which they took to be the main; but, upon nearer approach, and the day becoming clearer, they found two low islands to the leeward, one of which they fetched with great difficulty. They found

found there the stock of an old acacia-tree, and two or three bundles of wreck, or rotten sticks, which they gathered with great care; and all of them agreed, they would eat breakfast, dinner, and supper hot, instead of the cold repast they had made in the Straits. They now made several large fires; one took the charge of the coffee, another boiled the rice; they killed four turtles, made ready a dolphin; got beer, wine, and brandy, and drank the King's health in earnest, which their regimen would not allow them to do in the Straits of Babelmandeb. While this good cheer was preparing, Mr. Bruce saw with his glass, first one man running along the coast westward, who did not stop; about a quarter of an hour after, another upon a camel, walking at the ordinary pace, who dismounted just opposite to them, and as he thought kneeled down to say his prayers upon the sand. They had launched their boat immediately upon seeing the trunk of the tree on the island; so they were ready; and Mr. Bruce ordered two of the men to row him on shore, which they did. It is a bay of but ordinary depth, with straggling trees, and some flat ground along the coast. Immediately behind, is a row of mountains of a brownish or black colour.

Mr. Bruce went on shore at the place, and, after some little intercourse with some of the natives, whose conduct was very suspicious, he directed the Rais to stand out towards Crab island, and there being a gentle breeze from the shore, carrying an easy sail, they stood over upon Mocha town, to avoid some rocks or islands. While lying at Crab-island, he observed two stars pass the meridian, and by them he concluded the latitude of that island to be $13^{\circ} 2' 45''$ North.

The wind continuing moderate, but more to the southward, at three o'clock in the morning of the 3d, they passed Jibbel el Ourée, then Jibbel Zekir; and having a steady gale, with fair and moderate weather, passing to the westward of the island Rasab, between that and some other islands to the north-east, where the wind turned contrary, they arrived at Loheia, the 6th, in the morning. Loheia is in lat. $15^{\circ} 40' 52''$ north, and in long. $42^{\circ} 58' 15''$ east of the meridian of Greenwich.

Every

Every thing being prepared for our travellers' departure, they sailed from Loheia on the 3d of September 1769, for Masuah. The harbour of Loheia, which is by much the largest in the Red Sea, is now so shallow, and choaked up, that, unless by a narrow canal through which you enter and go out, there is no where three fathom of water, and in many places not half that depth. This is the case with all the harbours on the east coast of the Red Sea, while those on the west are deep, without any banks or bars before them.

An Abyssinian, who died on board, and who had been buried upon their coming out from Loheia bay, had been seen upon the bowsprit for two nights, and had terrified the sailors very much; even the Rais had been not a little alarmed; and, though he could not directly say he had seen him, yet, after Mr. Bruce was in bed on the 7th, he complained seriously to him of the bad consequences it would produce if a gale of wind was to rise, and the ghost was to keep his place there; he desired him to come forward and speak to him. "My good Rais, (said Mr. Bruce) I am exceedingly tired, and my head aches much with the sun, which hath been very violent to-day. You know the Abyssinian paid for his passage, and, if he does not overload the ship, (and I apprehend he should be lighter than when we took him on board) I do not think that in justice or equity, either you or I can hinder the ghost from continuing his voyage to Abyssinia, as we cannot judge what serious business he may have there." The Rais began to bless himself that he did not know any thing of his affairs.—"Then (said Mr. Bruce) if you do not find he makes the vessel too heavy before, do not molest him; because, certainly, if he was to come into any other part of the ship, or if he was to insist to sit in the middle of you, (in the disposition that you all are) he would be a greater inconvenience to you than his present post." The Rais began again to bless himself, repeating a verse of the *Koran*; "bismilla sheitan rejem," in the name of God keep the devil far from me. "Now, Rais, (said Mr. Bruce) if he does us no harm, you will let him ride upon the bowsprit till he is tired, or till he comes to Masuah; for I swear to you, unless he hurts or troubles us, I do not think I have any obligation

gation to get out of my bed to molest him ; only see that he carries nothing off with him."

The Rais now seemed to be exceedingly offended, and said, for his part, he did not care for his life more than any other man on board ; if it was not from fear of a gale of wind, he might ride on the bowsprit and be d——n'd ; but that he had always heard learned people could speak to ghosts. " Will you be so good, Rais (replied our traveller) to step forward, and tell him that I am going to drink coffee, and should be glad if he would walk into the cabin, and say any thing he has to communicate to me, if he is a Christian, and if not to Mahomet Gibberti." The Rais went out, but, as Mr. Bruce's servant told him, he would neither go himself, nor could get any person to go to the ghost for him. However, here the matter ended for the present. He was indeed seen again sometime afterwards, and was said to have robbed several of the passengers of part of their property. Mr. Bruce, however found out that it was not the ghost, but some of the sailors who were the thieves, and, after this defection, the ghost was never more heard of.

On the 11th, about seven in the evening, they struck upon a reef of coral rocks. Arabs are cowards in all sudden dangers ; for they consider every accident as the will of Providence, and therefore not to be avoided. The Arab sailors were for immediately taking to the boat ; while the Abyssinians were for cutting up the planks and wood of the inside of the vessel, and making her a raft. A violent dispute ensued, and after that a battle, when night overtook them still fast upon the rock. The Rais and Yafine, however, calmed the riot, when Mr. Bruce begged the passengers would hear him. " You all know (said he) or should know that the boat is mine ; as I bought it with my money, for the safety and accommodation of myself and servants ; you know likewise that I and my men are all well armed, while you are naked ; therefore do not imagine that we will suffer any of you to enter that boat, and save your lives, at the expense of ours. On this vessel of the Rais is your dependence, in it you are to be saved or to perish ; therefore all hands to work, and get the vessel

vessel off, while it is calm ; if she had been materially damaged, she had been sunk before now." They all seemed on this to take courage, and said they hoped he would not leave them. He told them if they would be men, he would not leave them while there was a bit of the vessel together.

The boat was immediately launched, and one of Mr. Bruce's servants, the Rais and two sailors, were put on board. They were soon upon the bank, where the two sailors got out, who cut their feet at first upon the white coral, but afterwards got firmer footing. They attempted to push the ship backwards, but she would not move. Poles and handspikes were tried in order to stir her, but these were not long enough. In a word, there was no appearance of getting her off before morning, when they knew the wind would rise, and it was to be feared she would then be dashed to pieces. Other efforts were then used, and a great cry was then set up that she began to move. A little after, a gentle wind just made itself felt from the east, and the cry from the Rais was, "hoist the fore-sail, and put it a back." This being immediately done, and a gentle breeze filling the fore-sail at the time they all pushed, and the vessel slid gently off, free from the shoal. Mr. Bruce did not partake of the joy so suddenly as the others did. He had always some fears a plank might have been started ; but they saw the advantage of a vessel being sewed, rather than nailed together, as she not only was unhurt, but made very little water.

On the 19th of September, at five in the afternoon, they came to an anchor in the harbour of Masuah, having been seventeen days on their passage, including the day they first went on board, though this voyage, with a favourable wind, is generally made in three days, it often has, indeed, been failed in less. Yet this must not be wholly attributed to the weather, as they spent much time in surveying the islands.

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BOOK II.

ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST AGES OF THE INDIAN AND AFRICAN TRADE :—THE FIRST PEOPLING OF ABYSSINIA AND ATHARA :—SOME CONJECTURES CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF LANGUAGE THERE.

WHOEVER peruses the history of the most ancient nations, will find the origin of wealth and power to have arisen in the east, and to have gradually advanced westward, spreading itself at the same time north and south. They will find the riches and population of those nations decay in proportion as this trade forsakes them ; which cannot but suggest to every sensible being, this certain truth, that God makes use of the smallest means and causes to operate the greatest and most powerful effects. Sesostris passed with a fleet of large ships from the Arabian Gulf into the Indian Ocean ; he subdued part of India, and opened to Egypt the commerce of that country by sea. It would appear he revived, rather than first discovered, this way of carrying on the trade to the East Indies, which, though it was at times intermitted, was, nevertheless, perpetually kept up by the trading nations themselves, from the ports of India and Africa, and on the Red Sea from Edom.

The

The pilots of Sesostris were acquainted with the phenomena of the trade winds and monsoons. History says further of Sesostris, that the Egyptians considered him as their greatest benefactor, for having laid open to them the trade both of India and Arabia, for having overturned the dominion of the *Shepherd* kings; and, lastly, for having restored to the Egyptian individuals each their own lands, which had been wrested from them by the violent hands of the Ethiopian *Shepherds*, during the first usurpation of these princes. In memory of his having happily accomplished these events, Sesostris is said to have built a ship of cedar of a hundred and twenty yards in length, the outside of which he covered with plates of gold, and the inside with plates of silver, and this he dedicated in the temple to Isis.

The inhabitants of the peninsula of India laboured under many disadvantages in point of climate. The high and wholesome part of the country was covered with barren and rugged mountains; and, at different times of the year, violent rains fell in large currents down the sides of these, which overflowed all the fertile land below; and these rains were no sooner over, than they were succeeded by a scorching sun, the effect of which upon the human body was to render it feeble, enervated, and incapable of the efforts necessary for agriculture. In this flat country, large rivers, that scarce had declivity enough to run, crept slowly along, through meadows of fat black earth, stagnating in many places as they went, rolling an abundance of decayed vegetables, and filling the whole air with exhalations of the most corrupt and putrid kind. Yet they had plenty of clothing adapted by Providence to their climate; spices to preserve their health; and every tree without culture produced them fruit of the most excellent kind; every tree afforded them shade, under which they could pass their lives delightfully in a calm and rational enjoyment, by the gentle exercise of weaving, at once providing for the health of their bodies, the necessities of their families, and the riches of their country. But however plentifully their spices grew, in whatever quantity the Indians consumed them, and however generally they wore their own manufactures, the superabundance of both was such, as nat-
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rally led them to look out for articles against which they might barter their superfluities.

The silk and cotton of India were white and colourless, liable to soil, and without any variety ; but Arabia produced gums and dyes of various colours, which were highly agreeable to the taste of the Asiatics. The basis of trade, between India and Arabia, was thus laid from the beginning by the hand of Providence. The wants and necessities of the one found a supply, or balance from the other.

In India they fixed on gold and silver as proper returns for their manufactures and produce. It is not easy to say, whether it was from their hardness or beauty, or what other reason governed the mind of man in making this standard of barter. The history of the particular transactions of those times is lost, if indeed there ever was such history, and, therefore, all further inquiries are in vain.

Mr. Bruce next proceeds to speak of the origin of characters or letters. He says, but two original characters obtained in Egypt. The first was the Geez, the second the Saitic, and both these were the oldest characters in the world, and both derived from hieroglyphics.

Thebes was built by a colony of Ethiopians from Sire, the city of Seir, or the Dog Star. Diodorus Siculus says, that the Greeks, by putting O before Siris, had made the word unintelligible to the Egyptians : Siris, then, was Osiris ; but he was not the Sun, no more than he was Abraham, nor was he a real personage. He was Sirius, or the dog star, designed under the figure of a dog, because of the warning he gave to Atbara, where the first observations were made at his disengaging himself from the rays of the sun, so as to be visible to the naked eye. His first appearance was figuratively compared to the barking of a dog, by the warning it gave to prepare for the approaching inundation. Mr. Bruce believes, therefore, this was the first hieroglyphic ; and that Isis, Osiris, and Tot, were all after inventions relating to it. It is not to be doubted, that hieroglyphics, but not astronomy, were invented at Thebes, where the theory of the dog-star was particularly investigated, because connected with their rural year.

Mr. Bruce considers that immense quantity of hieroglyphics, with which the walls of the temples, and faces of the obelisks, are covered, as containing so many astronomical observations. He looks upon these as the ephemerides of some thousand years, and that sufficiently accounts for their number. Their date and accuracy were indisputable; they were exhibited in the most public places, to be consulted as occasion required; and, by the deepness of the engraving, hardness of the materials, and the thickness and solidity of the block itself upon which they were carved, they bade defiance at once to violence and time.

Mr. Bruce is sensible, that most of the learned writers are of sentiments very different from him in these respects. They look for mysteries and hidden meanings, moral and philosophical treatises, as the subjects of these hieroglyphics. A sceptre, they say, is the hieroglyphic of a king. But where do we meet a sceptre upon an antique Egyptian monument? or who told us this was an emblem of royalty among the Egyptians at the time of the first invention of this figurative writing? Again, the serpent with the tail in its mouth denotes the eternity of God, that he is without beginning and without end. This is a Christian truth, and a Christian belief, but no where to be found in the polytheism of the inventors of hieroglyphics. It is not with philosophy as with astronomy; the older the observations, the more use they are of to posterity. A lecture of an Egyptian priest upon divinity, morality, or natural history, would not pay the trouble at this day of engraving it upon stone; and one of the reasons that no such subjects were ever treated in hieroglyphics is, that in all those Mr. Bruce ever had an opportunity of seeing, and very few people have seen more, he constantly found the same figures repeated, which obviously, and without dispute, allude to the history of the Nile, and its different periods of increase, the mode of measuring it, the Etesian winds; in short, such observations as we every day see in an almanack, in which we cannot suppose, that forsaking the obvious import, where the good they did was evident, they should ascribe different meanings to the hieroglyphic, to which no key has been left, and therefore their future inutility must have been foreseen.

The

The word *Tot* is Ethiopic, and there can be little doubt it means the dog-star. It was the name given to the first month of the Egyptian year. The meaning of the name in the language of the province of Siré, is an *idol*, composed of different heterogeneous pieces; it is found having this signification in many of their books. Thus a naked man is not a *Tot*, but the body of a naked man with a dog's head, an ass's head, or a serpent instead of a head, is a *Tot*. According to the import of that word it is an almanack, or section of the phenomena in the heavens, which are to happen in the limited time it is made to comprehend, when exposed for the information of the public; and the more extensive its use is intended to be, the greater number of emblems, or signs of observation, it is charged with.

The multitude of these emblems, and the frequent change of them, produced the necessity of contracting their size, and this again a consequential alteration in the original forms; and the stile or small portable instrument became all that was necessary for finishing these small *Tots*, instead of a large graver or carving tool, employed in making the large ones. But men, at last, were so much used to the alteration, as to know it better than under its primitive form, and the engraving became what we may call the first elements, or root, in preference to the original.

These *Tots* were probably what formerly the Egyptians called a book or almanack; a collection of these was probably hung up in some conspicuous place, to inform the public of the state of the heavens, seasons and diseases to be expected in the course of them, as is the case in the English almanacks at this day.

Whether letters were known to Noah before the flood, is no where said from any authority, and the inquiry into it is therefore useless. It is difficult, in Mr. Bruce's opinion, to imagine that any society, engaged in different occupations, could subsist long without them. There seems to be less doubt, that they were invented soon after the dispersion, long before Moses, and in common use among the Gentiles of his time. It seems also probable that the first alphabet was Ethiopic, first founded

founded on hieroglyphics, and afterwards modelled into more current and less laborious figures, for the sake of applying them to the expedition of business.

Though Moses certainly did not invent either, or any character, it is probable that he made two, perhaps more alterations in the Ethiopic alphabet as it then stood, with a view to increase the difference still more between the writing then in use among the nations, and what he intended to be peculiar to the Jews. The first was altering the direction and writing from right to left, whereas, the Ethiopian was, and is to this day, written from left to right, as was the hieroglyphic alphabet. The second was taking away the points, which from all times must have existed and been, as it were, a part of the Ethiopic letters invented with them, and Mr. Bruce does not see how it is possible it ever could have been read without them; so that, which way soever the dispute may turn concerning the antiquity of the application of the Masoretic points, the invention was no new one, but did exist as early as language was written. Probably these alterations were very rapidly adopted after the writing of the law, and applied to the new character as it then stood; because, not long after, Moses was ordered to submit the law itself to the people, which would have been perfectly useless, had not reading and the character been familiar to them at that time.

It also appears to our traveller, that the Ethiopic words were always separated, and could not run together, or be joined as the Hebrew, and that the running the words together into one, must have been matter of choice in the Hebrew, to increase the difference in writing the two languages, as the contrary had been practised in the Ethiopian language. Though there is really little resemblance between the Ethiopic and the Hebrew letters, and not much more between that and the Samaritan, yet there is room for suspicion, that the languages were once much nearer a-kin than this disagreement of their alphabet promises, and for this reason, that a very great number of words are found throughout the Old Testament that have really no root, nor can be derived from any Hebrew origin, and yet all have, in the Ethiopic, a plain, clear, unequivocal origin, to and from which they can be traced without force or difficulty.

After

After Thebes was destroyed by the first Shepherds, commerce, and it is probable the arts with it, fled for a time from Egypt, and centered in Edom, a city and territory, though we know little of its history, at that period the richest in the world. David, in the very neighbourhood of Tyre and Sidon, calls Edom the strong city; "Who will bring me into the strong city? Who will lead me into Edom?" David, from an old quarrel, and probably from the recent infliction of the Tyrians his friends, invaded Edom, destroyed the city, and dispersed the people. He was the great military power then upon the continent: Tyre and Edom were rivals; and his conquest of that last great and trading state, which he united to his empire, would yet have lost him the trade he sought to cultivate, by the very means he used to obtain it, had not Tyre been in a capacity to succeed to Edom, and to collect its mariners and artificers, scattered abroad by the conquest. David took possession of two ports, Eloth and Ezion-gabar, from which he carried on the trade to Ophir and Tarshish, to a very great extent, to the day of his death.

David was succeeded by Solomon in his kingdom, and likewise in the friendship of Hiram king of Tyre. Solomon visited Eloth and Ezion-gabar in person, and fortified them. He collected a number of pilots, shipwrights, and mariners, dispersed by his father's conquest of Edom, most of whom had taken refuge in Tyre and Sidon, the commercial states in the Mediterranean. Hiram supplied him with sailors in abundance; but the sailors so furnished from Tyre were not capable of performing the service which Solomon required, without the direction of pilots and mariners used to the navigation of the Arabian Gulf and Indian Ocean. Such were those mariners who formerly lived in Edom, whom Solomon had now collected in Eloth and Ezion-gabar.

Very different was the last mentioned navigation in all respects from that of the Mediterranean, which, with regard to the former, might be compared to a pond, every side being confined with shores little distant one from the other; even that small extent of sea was so full of islands, that there was much greater art required in the pilot to avoid land than to reach it. It was, besides, subject to variable winds, being to

the northward of 30° of latitude, the limits to which Providence hath confined those winds all over the globe; whereas the navigation of the Indian Ocean was governed by laws more convenient and regular, though altogether different from those that obtained in the Mediterranean. Mr. Bruce then proceeds to explain this phenomenon.

It is known to all those who are ever so little versant in the history of Egypt, that the wind from the north prevails in that valley all the summer months, and is called the *Etesian Winds*; it sweeps the valley from north to south, that being the direction of Egypt, and of the Nile, which runs through the midst of it. The two chains of mountains, which confine Egypt on the east and on the west, constrain the wind to take this precise direction.

We may naturally suppose the same would be the case in the Arabian Gulf, had that narrow sea been in a direction parallel to the land of Egypt, or due north and south. The Arabian Gulf, however, or what we call the Red Sea, lies from nearly north-west to south-east, from Suez to Mocha. It then turns nearly east and west, till it joins the Indian Ocean at the Straits of Babelmandeb. The Etesian winds, which are due north in Egypt, here take the direction of the Gulf, and blow in that direction steadily all the season, while it continues north in the valley of Egypt; that is, from April to October the wind blows north-west up the Arabian Gulf towards the Straits; and from November till March, directly contrary, down the Arabian Gulf, from the Straits of Babelmandeb to Suez and the Isthmus. These winds, which some corruptly call *the trade-winds*, is a very erroneous name given to them, and apt to confound narratives, and make them unintelligible. A trade wind is a wind which, all the year through, blows, and has ever blown, from the same point of the horizon; such is the south-west, south of the Line, in the Indian and Pacific Ocean. On the contrary, these winds, of which we have now spoken, are called *monsoons*; each year they blow six months from the northward, and the other six months from the southward, in the Arabian Gulf; while in the Indian Ocean, without the Straits of Babelmandeb, they

blow

blow just the contrary at the same seasons; that is, in summer from the southward, and in winter from the northward, subject to a small inflection to the east and to the west.

It may be necessary here to observe, that a vessel sailing from Suez, or the Elanitic Gulf, in any of the summer months, will find a steady wind at north-west, which will carry it in the direction of the Gulf to Mocha. At Mocha, the coast is east and west to the Straits of Babelmandeb, so that the vessel from Mocha will have variable winds for a short space, but mostly westerly, and these will carry her on to the Straits. She is then done with the monsoon in the Gulf, which was from the north, and, being in the Indian Ocean, is taken up by the monsoon, which blows in the summer months there, and is directly contrary to what obtains in the Gulf. This is a south-wester, which carries the vessel with a flowing sail to any part in India, without delay or impediment. The same happens upon her return home. She sails in the winter months by the monsoon proper to that sea, that is, with a north-east, which carries her through the Straits of Babelmandeb. She finds, within the Gulf, a wind at south-east, directly contrary to what was in the ocean; but then her course is contrary likewise, so that a south-easter, answering to the direction of the Gulf, carries her directly to Suez, or the Elanitic Gulf, to whichever way she proposes going. Hitherto all is plain, simple, and easy to be understood; and this was the reason why, in the earliest ages, the India trade was carried on without difficulty.

The prosperous days of the commerce with the Elanitic Gulf, seemed to be at this time nearly past; yet, after the revolt of the ten tribes, Edom remaining to the house of David, they still carried on a sort of trade from the Elanitic Gulf, though attended with many difficulties. This continued till the reign of Jehosaphat; but, on Jehoram's succeeding that prince, the Edomites revolted, and chose a king of their own, and were never after subject to the kings of Judah, till the reign of Uzziah, who conquered Eloth, fortified it, and having peopled it with a colony of his own, revived the old traffic. This subsisted till the reign of Ahaz, when Rezin, king of Damascus, took Eloth, and expelled the Jews, planting

ing in their stead a colony of Syrians. But he did not long enjoy this good fortune, for the year after, Rezin was conquered by Tilgath-pileser ; and one of the fruits of this victory was the taking of Eloth, which never after returned to the Jews.

The extirpation of the Edomites, the repeated wars and conquest to which the cities on the Elanitic Gulf had been subject, all the great events that immediately followed one another, of course disturbed the usual channel of trade by the Red Sea, whose ports were now consequently become unsafe by being in possession of strangers, robbers, and soldiers ; it changed, therefore, to a place nearer the center of police and good government, than fortified and frontier towns could be supposed to be. The Indian and African merchants, by convention, met in Assyria, as they had done in Semiramis's time ; the one by the Persian Gulf and Euphrates, the other through Arabia. Assyria, therefore, became the mart of the India trade in the East.

Nabopollaser, and his son Nebuchadnezzar, brought a prodigious quantity of bullion, both silver and gold, to Babylon his capital, having plundered Tyre, and robbed Solomon's Temple of all the gold that had been brought from Ophir ; and he had, besides, conquered Egypt and laid it waste, and cut off the communication of trade in all these places, by almost extirpating the people. Immense riches flowed to him, therefore, on all sides, and it was a circumstance particularly favourable to merchants in that country, that it was governed by written laws that screened their properties from any remarkable violence or injustice.

Such was the situation of the country at the birth of Cyrus, who having taken Babylon and slain Belsazzar, became master of the whole trade and riches of the East. Whatever character writers give of this great prince, his conduct, with regard to the commerce of the country, shews him to have been a weak one ; for not content with the prodigious prosperity to which his dominions had arrived, by the misfortune of other nations, and perhaps by the good faith kept by his subjects to merchants, enforced by those written laws he undertook

undertook the most absurd and disastrous project of molesting the traders themselves, and invading India, that all at once he might render himself master of their riches. He executed this scheme just as absurdly as he formed it; for, knowing that large caravans of merchants came into Persia and Assyria from India, through the Atiana, (the desert coast that runs all along the Indian Ocean to the Persian Gulf, almost entirely destitute of water, and very nearly as much so of provisions, both which caravans always carry with them), he attempted to enter India by the very same road with a large army, the same way his predecessor Semiramis had projected 1300 years before; and as her army had perished, so did his to a man, without having ever met with the least success.

His son and successor Cambyfes, was equally unfortunate; for, observing the quantity of gold brought from Ethiopia into Egypt, he resolved to march to the source, and at once make himself master of those treasures by rapine, which he thought came too slowly through the medium of commerce.

Cambyse's expedition into Africa obtained a celebrity by the absurdity of the project, by the enormous cruelty and havock that attended the course of it, and by the great and very just punishment that closed it in the end. It was one of those many monstrous extravagancies, which made up the life of the greatest madman that ever disgraced the annals of antiquity. The basest mind is perhaps the most capable of avarice; and when this passion has taken possession of the human heart, it is strong enough to excite us to undertakings as great as any of those dictated by the noblest of our virtues. Cambyfes, amidst the commission of the most horrid excesses during the conquest of Egypt, was informed that, from the south of that country, there was constantly brought a quantity of pure gold, independent of what came from the top of the Arabic Gulf, which was now carried into Assyria, and circulated in the trade of his country. This supply of gold belonged properly and exclusively to Egypt; and a very lucrative, though not very extensive commerce, was, by its means, carried on with India. He found out, that the people possessing these treasures were called *Macrobii*, which

which signifies *long livers*; and that they possessed a country divided from him by lakes, mountains, and deserts. But what still affected him most was, that in his way were a multitude of warlike Shepherds.

Cambyfes in order to make peace with the Shepherds, fell furiously upon the gods and temples in Egypt; he murdered the sacred ox, the apis, destroyed Memphis, and all the public buildings wherever he went. This was a gratification to the Shepherds, being equally enemies to those that worshipped beasts, or lived in cities. After this introduction, he concluded peace with them in the most solemn manner, each nation vowing eternal amity with the other. Notwithstanding which, no sooner was he arrived at Thebes (in Egypt) than he detached a large army to plunder the temple of Jupiter Ammon, the greatest object of the worship of these *Shepherds*; which army utterly perished without a man remaining, probably covered by the moving sands. He then began his march against the *Macrobi*, keeping close to the Nile. The country there being too high to receive any benefit from the inundation of the river, produced no corn, so that part of his army died for want of provision.

A detachment from another part of his army proceeded to the country of the Shepherds, who, indeed, furnished him with food; but, exasperated at the sacrilege he had committed against their god, they conducted his troops through places where they could procure no water. After suffering all this loss, he was not yet arrived beyond 24°, the parallel of Syene. From hence he dispatched ambassadors, or spies, to discover the country before him, finding he could no longer rely upon the Shepherds. These found it full of black warlike people, of great size, and prodigious strength of body; active, and continually exercised in hunting the lion, the elephant, and other monstrous beasts which live in these forests. They so abound with gold, that the most common utensils and instruments were made of that metal, whilst, at the same time, they were utter strangers to bread of any kind whatever; and, not only so, but their country was, by its nature, incapable of producing any sort of grain from which bread could

could be made. They subsisted upon raw flesh alone, dried in the sun, especially that of the rhinoceros, the elephant, and giraffa, which they had slain in hunting. On such food they have ever since lived, and live to this day, and on such food Mr. Bruce himself lived with them; yet still it appears strange, that people confined to this diet, without variety or change, should have it for their characteristic that they were long livers.

The Shepherds were not at all alarmed at the arrival of Cambyse's ambassadors. On the contrary, they treated them as an inferior species of men. Upon asking them about their diet, and hearing it was upon bread, they called it *dung*, probably from having the appearance of that bread which the miserable Agows, their neighbours, make from seeds of bastard rye, which they collect in their fields under the burning rays of the sun. They laughed at Cambyse's requisition of submitting to him, and did not conceal their contempt of his idea of bringing an army thither. They treated ironically his hopes of conquest, even supposing all difficulties of the desert overcome, and his army ready to enter their country, and counselled him to return while he was well, at least for a time till he should produce a man of his army that could bend the bow that they then sent him; in which case, he might continue to advance, and have hope of conquest.

It is well known, that the Persians were all famous archers. The mortification, therefore, they experienced, by receiving the bow they could not bend, was a very sensible one, though the narrative of the quantity of gold the messengers had seen made a much greater impression upon Cambyse. To procure this treasure was, however, impracticable, as he had no provision, nor was there any in the way of his march. His army, therefore, wasted daily by death and dispersion; and he had the mortification to be obliged to retreat into Egypt, after part of his troops had been reduced to the necessity of eating each other.

Trade was now attempted to be opened by Darius king of Persia, in a much more worthy and liberal manner, as he sent ships down the river Indus into the ocean, whence they entered the Red Sea. It is probable, in this voyage, he acquired all

all the knowledge necessary for establishing this trade in Persia ; for he must have passed through the Persian Gulf, and along the whole eastern coast of Arabia ; he must have seen the marts of perfumes and spices that were at the mouth of the Red Sea, and the manner of bartering for gold and silver, as he was necessarily in those trading places which were upon the very same coast from which the bullion was brought.

Alexander's expedition into India was, of all events, that which most threatened the destruction of the commerce of the Continent, or the dispersing it into different channels throughout the East : First, by the destruction of Tyre, which must have, for a time, annihilated the trade by the Arabian Gulf ; then by his march through Egypt into the country of the Shepherds, and his intended further progress into Ethiopia to the head of the Nile. If we may judge of what we hear of him in that part of his expedition, we should be apt not to believe, as others are fond of doing, that he had schemes of commerce mingled with those of conquests. His anxiety about his own birth at the temple of Jupiter Ammon, this first question that he asked of the priest, " Where the Nile had its source," seemed to denote a mind busied about other objects ; for else he was then in the very place for information, being in the temple of the horned god, the deity of the Shepherds, the African carriers of the Indian produce ; a temple which, though in the midst of sand, and destitute of gold or silver, possessed more and better information concerning the trade of India and Africa, than could be found in any other place on the Continent.

Alexander, after having viewed the main ocean to the south, ordered Nearchus with his fleet to coast along the Persian Gulf, accompanied by part of the army on land for their mutual assistance, as there were a great many hardships which followed the march of the army by land, and much difficulty and danger attended the shipping as they were sailing in unknown seas against the monsoons. Nearchus himself informed the king at Babylon of his successful voyage, who gave him orders to continue it into the Red Sea, which he happily accomplished to the bottom of the Arabian Gulf.

The

The wisest princes that ever sat upon the throne of Egypt were the Ptolemies, who applied with the utmost care and attention to cultivate the trade of India, to keep up a perfect and friendly understanding with every country that supplied any branch of it, and instead of disturbing it either in Asia, Arabia, or Ethiopia, as their predecessors had done, they used their utmost efforts to encourage it in all quarters.

Ptolemy I. was at this time reigning in Alexandria, the foundation of whose greatness he not only laid, but lived to see it arrive at the greatest perfection. It was his constant saying, that the true glory of a king was not in being rich himself, but in making his subjects so. He, therefore, opened his ports to all trading nations, encouraged strangers of every language, protected caravans, and a free navigation by sea, by which, in a few years, he made Alexandria the great storehouse of merchandize from India, Arabia, and Ethiopia. Ptolemy had been a soldier from his infancy, and consequently kept up a proper military force, that made him every where respected in these warlike and unsettled times. He had a fleet of two hundred ships of war constantly ready in the port of Alexandria, the only part for which he had apprehensions. All behind him was wisely governed, whilst it enjoyed a most flourishing trade, to the prosperity of which peace is necessary. He died in peace and old age, after having merited the glorious name of *Soter*, or *Saviour of the kingdom*.

Alexandria received the current of trade with the greatest impetuosity, all the articles of luxury of the East were to be found there. Gold and silver, which were sent formerly to Tyre, came now down to the Isthmus (for Tyre was no more) by a much shorter carriage, thence to Memphis, whence it was sent down the Nile to Alexandria. The gold from the west and south parts of the continent reached the same port with much less time and risk, as there was now no Red Sea to pass; and here was found the merchandize of Arabia and India in the greatest profusion.

Ptolemy, to facilitate the communication with Arabia, built a town on the coast of the Red Sea, in the country of

the Shepherds, and called it *Bernice*, after his mother. This was intended as a place of necessary refreshment for all traders up and down the Gulf, whether of India or Ethiopia; hence the cargoes of merchants, who were afraid of losing the monsoons, or had lost them, were carried by the inhabitants of the country, in three days, to the Nile, and there embarked for Alexandria. To make the communication between the Nile and the Red Sea still more commodious, this prince tried an attempt (which had twice before miscarried with very great loss) to bring a canal from the Red Sea to the Nile, which he actually accomplished, joining it to the Pelusiac, or eastern branch of the Nile.

Ptolemy had a very powerful fleet and army, but he was inferior to many of the princes, his rivals, in elephants, of which great use was then made in war. These Ethiopians were hunters, and killed them for their subsistence. Ptolemy, however, wished to have them taken alive, being numerous, and hoped both to furnish himself, and dispose of them as an article of trade to his neighbours. There is something ridiculous in the manner in which he executed this expedition. Aware of the difficulty of subsisting in that country, he chose only a hundred Greek horsemen, whom he covered with coats of monstrous appearance and size, which left nothing visible but the eyes of the rider. Their horses too were disguised by huge trappings, which took from them all proportion and shape. In this manner they entered this part of Ethiopia, spreading terror every where by their appearance, to which their strength and courage bore a strict proportion whenever they came to action. But neither force nor intreaty could gain any thing upon these Shepherds, or ever make them change or forsake the food they had been so long accustomed to; and all the fruit Ptolemy reaped from this expedition, was to build a city, by the sea side, in the south-east corner of this country, which he called Ptolemais Theron, or Ptolemais in the country of wild beasts.

Ptolemy Evergetes, son and successor of Ptolemy Philadelphus, having provided himself amply with necessaries for his army, ordered a fleet to coast along beside him, up the Red Sea; he penetrated quite through the country of the Shepherds

herds into that of the Ethiopian Troglodytes, who are black and woolly headed, and inhabit the low country quite to the mountains of Abyssinia. He even ascended those mountains, forced the inhabitants to submission, built a large temple at Axum, the capital of Siré, and raised a great many obelisks, several of which are standing to this day. Afterwards proceeding to the south east, he descended into the cinnamon and myrrh country, behind Cape Gardesfan, (the Cape that terminates the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean) from this, crossed over to Arabia, to the Homerites, being the same people with the Abyssinians, only on the Arabian shore. He then conquered several of the Arabian princes, who first resisted him, and had it in his power to have put an end to the trade of India there, had he not been as great a politician as he was a warrior. He used his victory, therefore in no other manner, than to exhort and oblige these princes to protect trade, encourage strangers, and, by every means, provide for the surety of neutral intercourse, by making rigorous examples of robbers by sea and land.

India, and the Indian seas, were as well known in Egypt as they are now; and the embassy of Endoxus to the Indies, must have been to remove the bad effects, which the extortions and robberies of Ptolemy VII. committed upon all strangers in the beginning of his reign, had made upon the trading nations. Endoxus returned, but after the death of Ptolemy. The necessity, however, of this voyage appeared still great enough to make Cleopatra, his widow, project a second to the same place, and greater preparations were made than for the former one. But Endoxus, trying experiments probably about the courses of the trade-winds, lost his passage, and was thrown upon the coast of Ethiopia; where, having landed, and made himself agreeable to the natives, he brought home to Egypt a particular description of that country and its produce, which furnished all the discovery necessary to instruct the Ptolemies in every thing that related to the ancient trade of Arabia.

The discovery of Spain, the possession of the mines of Attica, from which they drew their silver, and the revolution that

that happened in Egypt itself, seemed to have superseded the communication with the coast of Africa ; for, in Strabo's time, few of the ports of the Indian Ocean, even those nearest the Red Sea, were known. Mr. Bruce supposes, that the trade to India by Egypt decreased from the very time of the conquest by Cæsar. The mines the Romans had at the source of the river Betis, in Spain, did not produce them above 15,000*l.* a year ; this was not a sufficient capital for carrying on the trade to India ; and therefore the immense riches of the Romans seem to have been derived from the greatness of the prices, not from the extent of the trade. Egypt now, and all its neighbourhood, began to wear a face of war, to which it had been a stranger for so many ages. The north of Africa was in constant troubles, after the first ruin of Carthage ; so that we may imagine the trade to India began again, on that side, to be carried on pretty much in the same manner it had been before the days of Alexander. But it had enlarged itself very much on the Persian side, and found an easy, short inlet into the north of Europe, which then furnished them a market and consumption of spices.

The Jews in Alexandria, until the reign of Ptolemy Philæcon, had carried on a very extensive part of the India trade. All Syria was mercantile ; and lead, iron, and copper, supplied, in some manner, the deficiency of gold and silver, which never again was in such abundance till after the discovery of America. But the ancient trade to India, by the Arabian Gulf and Africa, carried on by the medium of these two metals, remained at home undiminished with the Ethiopians, defended by large extensive deserts, and happy with the enjoyment of riches and security, till a fresh discovery again introduced to them both partners and masters in their trade.

Mr. Bruce next proceeds to give some account of the visit made by the queen of Sheba, as we erroneously call her, and the consequences of that visit ; the foundation of an Ethiopian monarchy, and the continuation of the sceptre in the tribe of Judah, down to this day.

Many

Many have thought this queen was an Arab. But Saba was a separate state, and the Sabeans a distinct people from the Ethiopians and the Arabs, and have continued so till very lately. We know, from history, that it was a custom among these Sabeans, to have women for their sovereigns in preference to men, a custom which still subsists among their descendants. Her name, the Arabs say, was *Belkis*; the Abyssinians *Maqueda*. Our Saviour calls her *Queen of the South*, without mentioning any other name, but gives his sanction to the truth of the voyage. "The queen of the South (or Saba, "or Azab) shall rise up in the judgment with this generation, "and shall condemn it; for she came from the uttermost "parts of the earth to hear the wisdom of Solomon; and, "behold, a greater than Solomon is here." No other particulars, however, are mentioned about her in scripture. The gold, the myrrh, cassia, and frankincense, were all the produce of her own country; and the many reasons Pineda gives to shew she was an Arab, more than convince Mr. Bruce that she was an Ethiopian or Cushite shepherd.

Whether she was a Jewess or a Pagan is uncertain; Sabaism was the religion of all the East. It was the constant attendant and stumbling block of the Jews; but considering the multitude of that people then trading from Jerusalem, and the long time it continued, it is not improbable she was a Jewess. She likewise appears to have been a person of learning, and that sort of learning which was then almost peculiar to Palestine, not to Ethiopia. For we see that one of the reasons of her coming, was to examine whether Solomon was really the learned man he was said to be. She came to try him in allegories, or parables, in which Nathan instructed Solomon.

The annals of Abyssinia say she was a Pagan when she left Azab, but being full of admiration at the sight of Solomon's works, she was converted to Judaism in Jerusalem, and bore him a son, whom she called Menilek, and who was their first king.

She returned with her son Menilek to Saba, or Azab, whom, after keeping him some years, she sent back to his father to be instructed. Solomon did not neglect his charge, and

and he was anointed and crowned king of Ethiopia, in the temple of Jerusalem, and at his inauguration took the name of David. After this he returned to Azab, and brought with him a colony of Jews, among whom were many doctors of the law of Moses, particularly one of each tribe, to make judges in his kingdom, from whom the present Umbares (or Supreme judges, three of whom always attend the king) are said and believed to be descended. With these came also Azarias, the son of Zadok the priest, and brought with him a Hebrew transcript of the law, which was delivered into his custody, as he bore the title of Nebrit, or High Priest; and this charge, though the book itself was burnt with the church of Axum in the Moorish war of Adel, is still continued, as it is said, in the lineage of Azarias, who are Nebrits, or keepers of the church of Axum, at this day. All Abyssinia was thereupon converted, and the government of the church and state modelled according to what was then in use at Jerusalem.

The Queen of Saba having made laws irrevocable to all her posterity, died, after a long reign of 40 years, in 986 before Christ, placing her son Menilek upon the throne, whose posterity, the annals of Abyssinia would teach us to believe have ever since reigned. So far we must indeed bear witness to them, that this is no new doctrine, but has been stedfastly and uniformly maintained from their earliest account of time; first, when Jews, then in later days after they had embraced Christianity.

Mr. Bruce then observes, that as we are about to take our leave of the Jewish religion and government in the line of Solomon, it is here the proper place that he should add what he has to say of the Falasha. The account they give of themselves, which is supported only by tradition among them, is, that they came with Menilek from Jerusalem, so that they agree perfectly with the Abyssinians in the story of the queen of Saba, who, they say, was a Jewess, and her nation Jews before the time of Solomon; that she lived at Saba, or Azaba, the myrrh and frankincense country upon the Arabian Gulf. They say further, that she went to Jerusalem, under protection of Hiram king of Tyre, whose daughter is said in the

xlth Psalm

xlth Psalm to have attended her thither ; that she went not in ships, nor through Arabia, for fear of the Ishmaelites, but from Azab round Masuah and Suakem, and was escorted by the Shepherds, her own subjects, to Jerusalem, and back again, making use of her own country vehicle, the camel; and that hers was a white one, of prodigious size and exquisite beauty. They agree also, in every particular, with the Abyssinians, about the remaining part of the story, the birth and inauguration of Menilek, who was their first king ; also the coming of Azarias, and twelve elders from the twelve tribes, and other doctors of the law, whose posterity they deny to have ever apostatised to Christianity, as the Abyssinians pretend they did at the conversion. They, say, that, when the trade of the Red Sea fell into the hands of strangers, and all communication was shut up between them and Jerusalem, the cities were abandoned, and the inhabitants relinquished the coast that they were the inhabitants of these cities, by trade mostly brick and tile-makers, potters, thatchers of houses, and such like mechanics, employed in them ; and finding the low country of Dembea afforded materials for exercising these trades, they carried the article of pottery in that province to a degree of perfection scarcely to be imagined.

These people, being very industrious, multiplied exceedingly, and were very powerful at the time of the conversion to Christianity, or, as they term it, the Apostacy under Abreha and Arzbeha. At this time they declared a prince of the tribe of Judah, and of the race of Solomon and Menilek, to be their sovereign. The name of this prince was Phineas, who refused to abandon the religion of his forefathers, and from him their sovereigns are lineally descended : so they have still a prince of the house of Judah, although the Abyssinians, by way of reproach, have called this family Bet Israel, intimating that they were rebels, and revolted from the family of Solomon and tribe of Judah.

An attempt was made, about the year 960, by this family to mount the throne of Abyssinia, when the princes of the house of Solomon were nearly extirpated upon the rock Da-

mo. This, it is probable, produced more animosity and bloodshed. At last the power of the Falasha was so weakened, that they were obliged to leave the flat country of Dembea, having no cavalry to maintain themselves there, and to take possession of the rugged, and almost inaccessible rocks, in that high ridge called the mountains of Samen. A great overthrow, which they received in the year 1600, brought them to the very brink of ruin. In that battle Gideon and Judith, their king and queen, were slain. They have since adopted a more peaceable and dutiful behaviour, pay taxes, and are suffered to enjoy their own government.

The only copy of the Old Testament which they have, is in Geez, the same made use of by the Abyssinian Christians, who are the only scribes, and sell these copies to the Jews; and, it is very singular that no controversy, or dispute about the text, has ever yet arisen between the professors of the two religions.

Tudolf, the most learned man that has written upon the subject, says, that it is apparent the Ethiopic-Old Testament, at least the Pentateuch, was copied from the Septuagint, because of the many Grecisms to be found in it; and the names of birds and precious stones, and some other passages that appear literally to be translated from the Greek. He imagines also, that the present Abyssinian version is the work of Frumentius their first bishop, when Abyssinia was converted to Christianity under Abreha and Atzbeha, about the year 330 after Christ, or a few years later.

As the Abyssinian copy of the Holy Scriptures, in Mr. Ludolf's opinion, was translated by Frumentius above 330 after Christ, and the Septuagint version, in the days of Philadelphus, or Ptolemy II. above 160 years before Christ, it will follow, that, if the present Jews use the copy translated by Frumentius, and, if that was taken from the Septuagint, the Jews must have been above 400 years without any books whatsoever at the time of the conversion by Frumentius: So they must have had all the Jewish law, which is in perfect vigour and force among them, all their Levitical observances, their

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their purifications, atonements, abstinences, and sacrifices, all depending upon their memory, without writing, at least for that long space of 400 years. This, though not absolutely impossible, is surely very nearly so. We know, that at Jerusalem itself, the seat of Jewish law and learning, idolatry happening to prevail, during the short reigns of only four kings, the law, in that interval, became so perfectly forgotten and unknown, that a copy of it being accidentally found and read by Josiah, that prince, upon his first learning its contents, was so astonished at the deviations from it, that he apprehended the immediate destruction of the whole city and people.

The Abyssinians have the whole scriptures entirely as we have, and count the same number of books; but they divide them in another manner, at least in private hands, few of them, from extreme poverty, being able to purchase the whole, either of the historical or prophetic books of the Old Testament. The same may be said of the New, for copies containing the whole of it are very scarce. Indeed nowhere, unless in churches, do you see more than the Gospels, or the Acts of the Apostles, in one person's possession, and it must not be an ordinary man that possesses even these. Many books of the Old Testament are forgotten, so that it is the same trouble to procure them, even in churches, for the purpose of copying, as to consult old records long covered with dust and rubbish. The Revelation of St. John is a piece of favourite reading among them. There is no such thing as distinctions between canonical and apocryphal books. Bell and the Dragon, and the Acts of the Apostles, are read with equal devotion, and, for the most part, with equal edification. The Song of Solomon is a favourite piece of reading among the old priests, but forbidden to the young ones, to the deacons, laymen, and women. The Abyssinians believe, that this song was made by Solomon in praise of Pharaoh's daughter; and do not think, as some of our divines are disposed to do, that there is in it any mystery or allegory respecting Christ and the Church.

Next to the New Testament they place the constitutions of the Apostles, which they call *Synodos*, which, as far as the

the cases or doctrines apply, we may say is the written law of the country. These were translated out of the Arabic, they have next a general liturgy, or book of common prayer, besides several others peculiar to certain festivals, under whose names they go. The next is a very large voluminous book, called *Haimanout Abou*, chiefly a collection from the works of different Greek fathers, treating of, or explaining several heresies, or disputed points of faith, in the ancient Greek Church. Translations of the works of St. Athanasius, St. Basil, St. John Chrysostome, and St. Cyril, are likewise current among them.

The next is the Synaxar, or the *Flos Sanctorum*, in which the miracles and lives, or lies of their saints, are at large recorded, in four monstrous volumes in folio, stuffed full of fables of the most incredible kind. They have a saint that wrestled with the devil in the shape of a serpent nine miles long, threw him from a mountain and killed him. Another saint who converted the devil, who turned monk, and lived in great holiness forty years after his conversion, doing penance for having tempted our Saviour upon the mountain: what became of him after, they do not say. Again, another saint, that never ate nor drank from his mother's womb, went to Jerusalem, and said mass every day at the holy sepulchre, and came home at night in the shape of a stork. The last Mr. Bruce mentions was a saint, who, being very sick, and his stomach in disorder, took a longing for partridges; he called upon a brace of them to come to him, and immediately two roasted partridges came flying, and rested upon his plate, to be devoured. These stories are circumstantially told and vouched by unexceptionable people, and were a grievous stumbling block to the Jesuits, who could not pretend their own miracles were either better established, or more to be credited.

The last of this Ethiopic library is the book of Enoch. Upon hearing this book first mentioned, many literati in Europe had a wonderful desire to see it, thinking that, no doubt, many secrets and unknown histories might be drawn from it. Upon this, some impostor getting an Ethiopic book into his hands, wrote for the title, *The Prophecies of Enoch*, upon the

front

front page of it. M. Pierisc no sooner heard of it than he purchased it of the impostor for a considerable sum of money: being placed afterwards in Cardinal Mazarine's library, where Mr. Ludolf had access to it, he found it was a Gnostic book upon mysteries in heaven and earth, but which mentioned not a word of Enoch or his prophecy, from beginning to end; and, from this disappointment, he takes upon him to deny the existence of any such book any where else. This, however, is a mistake; for, among the articles Mr. Bruce consigned to the library at Paris, was a very beautiful and magnificent copy of the prophecies of Enoch, in large quarto; another is amongst the books of scripture which he brought home, standing immediately before the book of Job, which is its proper place in the Abyssinian canon; and a third copy he presented to the Bodleian library at Oxford.

The Abyssinian annals mention an expedition to have happened into the farthest part of Arabia Felix, which the Arabian authors, and indeed Mahomet himself in the Koran calls by the name of the War of the Elephant, and the cause of it was as follows: There was a temple nearly in the middle of the peninsula of Arabia, that had been held in the greatest veneration for about 1400 years. The Arabs say, that Adam, when shut out of Paradise, pitched his tent on this spot; while Eve, from some accident or other, died and was buried on the shore of the Red Sea, at Jidda. Two days journey east from this place, her grave of green sods about fifty yards in length, is shewn to this day. In this temple also was a black stone, upon which Jacob saw the vision mentioned in scripture, of the angels descending, and ascending into Heaven. It is likewise said, with more appearance of probability, that this temple was built by Sesostris, in his voyage to Arabia Felix, and that he was worshipped there under the name of Osiris.

This tower, and idol, being held in great veneration by the neighbouring nations, suggested the very natural thought of making the temple the market for the trade from Africa and India. They chose this town in the heart of the country, accessible on all sides, and commanded on none, calling it Becca, which signifies the House; though Mahomet, after breaking

breaking the idol and dedicating the temple to the true God, named it Mecca, under which name it has continued, the centre or great mart of the India trade to this day.

Abreha, in order to divert this trade into a channel more convenient for his present dominions, built a very large church or temple, in the country of the Homerites, and nearer the Indian Ocean. To encourage also the resort to this place, he extended to it all the privileges, protection, and emoluments, that belonged to the Pagan temple of Mecca.

Among the various tribes of Arabs, one called Beni Koreish, had the care of the Caba, the name by which the round tower of Mecca was called. These people were exceedingly alarmed at the prospect of their temple being at once deserted, both by its votaries and merchants, to prevent which, a party of them, in the night, entered Abreha's temple, and having first burned what part of it could be consumed, they polluted the part that remained, by besmearing it over with human excrements.

So gross an affront could not be passed unnoticed by Abreha, who, mounted upon a white elephant, at the head of a considerable army, resolved, in return, to destroy the temple of Mecca, and with this intent laid siege to that place. Abou Thaleb was then keeper of the Caba, who had interest with his countrymen the Beni Koreish to prevail upon them to make no resistance, nor shew any signs of wishing to make a defence. He had presented himself early to Abreha upon his march. There was a temple of Osiris at Taief, which, as a rival to that of Mecca, was looked upon by the Beni Koreish with a jealous eye. Abreha was so far misled by the intelligence given him by Abou Thaleb, that he mistook the temple of Taief for that of Mecca and razed it to the foundation, after which he prepared to return home.

Being soon afterwards informed of his mistake, and not repenting of what he had already done, he resolved to destroy Mecca also. Abou Thaleb, however, had never left his side; by his great hospitality, and the plenty he procured to the Emperor's army, he so gained Abreha, that hearing, on inquiry

quiry, he was no mean man, but a prince of the tribe of Beni Koreish, noble Arabs, he obliged him to sit in his presence, and kept him constantly with him as a companion. At last, not knowing how to reward him sufficiently, Abreha desired him to ask any thing in his power to grant, and he would satisfy him. Abou Thaleb, taking him at his word, wished to be provided with a man, that should bring back forty oxen, the soldiers had stolen from him. Abreha, who expected that the favour he was to ask, was to spare the temple, which he had in that case resolved in his mind to do, could not conceal his astonishment at so silly a request, and he could not help testifying this to Abou Thaleb, in a manner that shewed it had lowered him in his esteem. Abou Thaleb, smiling, replied very calmly, "If that before you is the Temple of God, as I believe it is, you shall never destroy it, if it is his will that it should stand: If it is not the Temple of God, or which is the same thing, if he has ordained that you should destroy it, I shall not only assist you in demolishing it, but shall help you in carrying away the last stone of it upon my shoulders: But as for me, I am a shepherd, and the care of cattle is my profession; twenty of the oxen which are stolen are not my own, and I shall be put in prison for them to-morrow; for neither you nor I can believe that this is an affair God will interfere in; and therefore I apply to you for a soldier who will seek the thief, and bring back my oxen, that my liberty be not taken from me."

Abreha had now refreshed his army, and, from regard to his guest, had not touched the Temple; when, says the Arabian author, there appeared, coming from the sea, a flock of birds called Ababil, having faces like lions, and each of them in his claws holding a small stone like a pea, which he let fall upon Abreha's army, so that they all were destroyed. The author of the manuscript from which Mr. Bruce took this fable, and which is also related by several other historians, and mentioned by Mahomet in the Koran, does not seem to swallow the story implicitly. For he says, that there is no bird that has a face like a lion; that Abou Thaleb was a Pagan, Mahomet being not then come, and that the Christians were worshippers of the true God, the God of Mahomet; and, therefore, if any miracle was wrought here, it was a miracle of the devil, a victory in favour of Paganism, and destructive

of the belief of the true God. In conclusion, he says, that it was at this time that the small pox and measles first broke out in Arabia, and almost totally destroyed the army of Abreha. But if the stone, as big as a pea, thrown by the Ababil, had killed Abreha's army to the last man, it does not appear how any of them could die afterwards, either by the small pox or measles. All that is material, however, to us, in this fact is, that the time of the siege of Mecca will be the æra of the first appearance of that terrible disease, the small-pox, which we shall set down about the year 356; and it is highly probable, from other circumstances, that the Abyssinian army was the first victim to it.

As for the church Abreha, built near the Indian Ocean, it continued free from any further insult till the Mahometan conquest of Arabia Felix, when it was finally destroyed in the Khalifat of Omar. This is the Abyssinian account, and this the Arabian history of the War of the Elephant, which are stated as found in the books of the most credible writers of those times.

The Jewish religion had spread itself far into Arabia as early as the commencement of the African trade with Palestine; but, after the destruction of the temple by Titus, a great increase both of number and wealth had made that people absolute masters in many parts of that peninsula. In the Neged, and as far up as Medina, petty princes, calling themselves kings, were established, who, being trained in the wars of Palestine, became very formidable among the pacific commercial nations of Arabia, deeply sunk into Greek degeneracy.

Phineas, a prince of that nation from Medina, having beat St. Aretas, the governor of Najiran, began to persecute the Christians by a new species of cruelty, by ordering certain furnaces, or pits full of fire, to be prepared, into which he threw as many of the inhabitants of Najiran as refused to renounce Christianity. Justin, the Greek Emperor, was then employed in an unsuccessful war with the Persians, so that he could not give any assistance to the afflicted Christians in Arabia, but in the year 522, he sent an embassy to Caleb, or Elefbaas, king of Abyssinia, intreating him to interfere in favour of the Christians of Najiran, as he too was of the

Greek

Greek church. On the Emperor's first request, Caleb sent orders to Abreha, Governor of Yemen, to march to the assistance of Aretas, the son of him who was burnt, and who was then collecting troops. Strengthened by this reinforcement, the young soldier did not think proper to delay the revenging his father's death, till the arrival of the Emperor; but having come up with Phineas, who was ferrying his troops over an arm of the sea, he entirely routed them, and obliged their prince, for fear of being taken, to swim with his horse to the nearest shore. It was not long before the Emperor had crossed the Red Sea with his army; nor had Phineas lost any time in collecting his scattered forces to oppose him. A battle was the consequence, in which the fortune of Caleb again prevailed.

Neither of the Jewish kingdoms were destroyed by the victories of Caleb, or Abreha, nor the subsequent conquest of the Persians. In the Neged, or north part of Arabia, they continued not only after the appearance of Mahomet, but till after the Hegira. The Arabian manuscripts say positively, that this Abreha, who assisted Aretas, was Governor of Arabia Felix, or Yemen.

In the Greek church a most shameful prostitution of manners prevailed, as also innumerable heresies, which were first received as true tenets of their religion, but were soon after persecuted in a most uncharitable manner, as being erroneous. Their lies, their legends, their saints and miracles, and, above all, the abandoned behaviour of the priesthood, had brought their characters in Arabia almost as low as that of the detested Jew, and, had they been considered in their true light, they had been still lower. The dictates of nature in the heart of the honest Pagan, constantly employed in long, lonely, and dangerous voyages, awakened him often to reflect who that Providence was that invisibly governed him, supplied his wants, and often mercifully saved him from the destruction into which his own ignorance or rashness were leading him. Poisoned by no system, perverted by no prejudice, he wished to know and adore his Benefactor, with purity and simplicity of heart, free from these fopperies and follies with which ignorant priests and monks had disguised his worship. Possessed of charity, steady in his duty to his parents, full of veneration for his superiors, attentive and merciful

merciful even to his beasts ; in a word, containing in his heart the principles of the first religion, which God had inculcated in the heart of Noah, the Arab was already prepared to embrace a much more perfect one than what Christianity, at that time disfigured by folly and superstition, appeared to him to be.

Mahomet, of the tribe of Beni Koreish (at whose instigation is uncertain) took upon himself to be the apostle of a new religion, pretending to have, for his only object, the worship of the true God. Ostensibly full of the morality of the Arab, of patience and self-denial, superior even to what is made necessary to salvation by the gospel, his religion, at the bottom, was but a system of blasphemy and falsehood, corruption and injustice. Mahomet and his tribe were most profoundly ignorant. There was not among them but one man that could write, and it was not doubted he was to be Mahomet's secretary, but unfortunately Mahomet could not read his writing. The story of the angel who brought him leaves of the Koran is well known, and so is all the rest of the fable. The wiser part of his own relations, indeed, laughed at the impudence of his pretending to have a communication with angels. Having, however, gained, as his apostles, some of the best foldiers of the tribe of Beni Koreish, and persisting with great uniformity in all his measures, he established a new religion upon the ruins of idolatry and Sabaism, in the very temple of Mecca.

Mahomet enjoined nothing severe, and the frequent prayers and washings with water which he directed, were gratifications to a sedentary people in a very hot country. The lightness of this yoke, therefore, recommended it rapidly to those who were disgusted with long fasting, penances, and pilgrimages. The poison of this false, yet not severe religion, spread itself from that fountain to all the trading nations: India, Ethiopia, Africa, all Asia, suddenly embraced it; and every caravan carried into the bosom of its country people not more attached to trade, than zealous to preach and propagate their new faith.

The Arabs begun very soon to study letters, and came to be very partial to their own language; Mahomet himself so much so, that he held out his Koran, for its elegance alone, as a greater miracle than that of raising the dead. This was not universally allowed at that time, as there were even then compositions supposed to equal, if not to surpass it. The

The Arabs were a people who lived in a country for the most part desert ; their dwellings were tents ; their principal occupation feeding and breeding cattle ; and they married with their own family. The language therefore of such a people must be very poor : there is no variety of images in their whole country. They were always bad poets, as their works will testify ; and if, contrary to the general rule, the language of Arabia Deserta became a copious one, it must have been by the mixture of so many nations meeting and trading at Mecca. It must, at the same time, have been the most corrupt, where there was the greatest concourse of strangers, and this was certainly among the Beni Koreish at the Caba.

The war that had distracted all Arabia, first between the Greeks and Persians, then between Mahomet and the Arabs, in support of his divine mission, had very much hurt the trade carried on by universal consent at the Temple of Mecca. Caravans, when they dared venture out, were surprised upon every road by the partisans of one side or the other. Both merchants and trade had taken their departure to the southward, and established themselves south of the Arabian Gulf, in places which had been the markets for commerce, and the rendezvous of merchants. The conquest of the Abyssinian territories in Arabia forced all those that yet remained to take refuge on the African side, in the little districts which now grew into consideration. The Governor of Yemen, (or Najashi) converted now to the faith of Mahomet, retired to the African side of the Gulf. His government, long ago, having been shaken to the very foundation by the Arabian war, was at last totally destroyed.

After Omar had subdued Egypt, he destroyed the valuable library at Alexandria ; but his successors thought very differently from him in the article of profane learning. Greek books of all kinds (especially those of geometry, astronomy, and medicine,) were searched for every where and translated. Sciences flourished, and were encouraged. Trade at the same time kept pace, and increased with knowledge. Geography and astronomy were every where diligently studied, and solidly applied to make the voyages of men from place to place safe and expeditious.

In one family of the Jews, an independent sovereignty had always been preserved on the mountain of Samen, and the

royal residence was upon a high pointed rock, called the Jews Rock: several other inaccessible mountains served as natural fortresses for this people, now grown very considerable by frequent accessions of strength from Palestine and Arabia, whence the Jews had been expelled. Gideon and Judith were then king and queen of the Jews, and their daughter Judith (whom, in Amhara, they call *Esther*, and sometimes *Saat*, i. e. *fire*) was a woman of great beauty, and talents for intrigue; had been married to the governor of a small district called Bugna, in the neighbourhood of Lasta, both which countries were likewise much infected with Judaism.

Judith had made so strong a party, that she resolved to attempt the subversion of the Christian religion, and, with it, the succession in the line of Solomon. The children of the royal family were at this time, in virtue of the old law, confined on the almost inaccessible mountain of Damo in Tigre. The short reign, sudden and unexpected death of the late king Azior, and the desolation and contagion which an epidemical disease had spread both in court and capital, the weak state of Del Naad who was to succeed Azior, and was an infant; all these circumstances together, impressed Judith with an idea that now was the time to place her family upon the throne, and establish her religion by extirpating the race of Solomon. Accordingly, she surprised the rock Damo, and slew the whole princes there, to the number, it is said, of 400. Some nobles of Amhara, upon the first news of the catastrophe at Damo, conveyed the infant king Del Naad, now the only remaining prince of his race, into the powerful and loyal province of Shoa, and by this means the royal family was preserved to be again restored. Judith took possession of the throne in defiance of the law of the queen of Saba, by this the first interruption of the succession in the line of Solomon; and, contrary to what might have been expected from the violent means she had used to acquire the crown, she not only enjoyed it herself during a long reign of 40 years, but transmitted it also to five of her posterity.

After a great number of years, the line of Solomon was again restored in the descendants of Del Naad, who, as we have seen, had escaped from the massacre of Damo under Judith. Content with possessing the loyal province of Shoa, they continued their royal residence there, without having made one attempt, as far as history tells us, towards recovering their ancient kingdom.

TRAVELS

TO DISCOVER THE

SOURCE OF THE NILE.

BOOK III.

ANNALS OF ABYSSINIA.

CONTAINING THE HISTORY OF THE ABYSSINIANS, FROM
THE RESTORATION OF THE LINE OF SOLOMON
TO THE DEATH OF SOCINIOS.

ICON AMLAC.

FROM 1268 TO 1283.

ICON AMLAC is the name by which we know this first prince of the race of Solomon, who, after a long exile his family had suffered by the treason of Judith, is now restored to his dominions. His name signifies, "Let him be made our sovereign," and is apparently that which he took upon his accession to the throne; and his name of baptism, and by-name, or popular name given him, are both therefore lost. He was a wise and prudent prince.

IGBA

IGBA SION.

FROM 1283 TO 1312.

ICON AMLAC is succeeded by Igba Sion, and after him by five other princes, his brothers, all in five years. So quick a succession in so few years seems to mark very unsettled times. Whether it was a civil war among themselves that brought these reigns so soon to an end, or whether it was that the Moorish states in Adel had increased in power, and fought successfully against them, we are not certain.

AMDA SION.

FROM 1312 TO 1343.

AMDA SION succeeded his father, Wedem Araad, who was youngest brother of Icon Amlac, and came to the crown after the death of his uncles. He is generally known by this his inauguration name; his Christian name was Guebra Mascal. His reign began with a scene as disgraceful to the name of Christian as it was new in the annals of Ethiopia. Having for a time privately loved a concubine of his father, but had now taken her to live with him publicly; and, not content with committing this sort of incest, he soon after had seduced his two sisters.

Patience was as little among this prince's virtues as chastity, as he immediately ordered Honorius to be apprehended, stripped naked, and severely whipped through every street of his capital. That same night the town took fire, and was entirely consumed. The clergy lost no time to persuade the people, that it was the blood of Honorius that turned to fire whenever it had dropped upon the ground. The king, perhaps better informed, thought otherwise, and supposed the burning of the city was owing to the monks. He therefore banished those of Debra Lehanos out of the province of Shoa.

The inhabitants of Adel and Aussa are tawney, and not black, and have long hair. They are rich and powerful; but there is no current coin in Abyssinia. Gold is paid by weight; the revenues are chiefly paid in kind, viz. oxen, sheep, and honey,

honey, which are the greatest necessities of life. As for luxuries, they are obtained by a barter of gold, myrrh, coffee, elephant's teeth, and a variety of other articles which are carried over to Arabia, and exchanged for whatever is commissioned.

The rainy season in Abyssinia generally puts an end to the active part of war, as every one retires then to towns and villages to screen themselves from the inclemency of the weather, the country being deluged with daily rain. The foldier, the husbandman, and, above all, the women, dedicate this season to festivity and riot. These villages and towns are always placed upon the highest mountains; the valleys that intervene are soon divided by large and rapid torrents. Every hollow foot path becomes a stream, and the valleys between the hills become so miry as not to bear a horse; the water is both deep and violent, are too apt to shift their direction, to suffer any one on foot to pass safely. All this season, and this alone, people sleep in their houses in safety; their lances and shields are hung up on the sides of their hall, and the saddles and bridles taken off their horses; for in Abyssinia, at other times, the horses are always bridled, and are accustomed to eat and drink with this incumbrance. The court, and the principal officers of government, retire to the capital, and there administer justice, make alliances, and prepare the necessary funds and armaments, which the present exigencies of the state require on the return of fair weather.

The Abyssinians are every one of them fearful of the night, unwilling to travel, and, above all, to fight in that season, when they imagine the world is in possession of certain genii, averse to intercourse with men, and very vindictive, if even by accident they are ruffled or put out of their way by their interference. This, indeed, is carried to so great a height, that no man will venture to throw water out of a basin upon the ground, for fear that, in ever so small a space the water should have to fall, the dignity of some elf, or fairy, might be violated. The Moors have none of these apprehensions, and are accustomed in the way of trade to travel at all hours, sometimes from necessity, but often from choice, to avoid the heat. They laugh, moreover, at the superstitions of the Abyssinians,

Abyssinians, and not unfrequently avail themselves of them. A verse of the Koran, sewed up in leather, and tied round their necks or their arms, secures them from all these incorporeal enemies; and, from this known advantage, if other circumstances are favourable, they never fail to fight the Abyssinians at or before the dawn of the morning, for in this country there is no twilight.

Amda Sion died at Tegular in Shoa, after a reign of thirty years, which was but a continued series of victories, no instance being recorded of his having been once defeated,

SAIF ARAAD.

FROM 1342 to 1370.

SAIF ARAAD succeeded his father Amda Sion; and in his time all was peaceable on the side of Adel, as nothing is mentioned relative to the war. Little is said of this monarch worth mentioning here, nor of the several succeeding kings from this period to 1434.

ZARA JACOB.

FROM 1434 TO 1468.

ZARA JACOB, fourth son of David II. succeeded his nephew, and reigned 34 years, and, at his inauguration, took the name of Constantine. He is looked upon in Abyssinia to have been another Solomon, and a model of what the best of sovereigns should be. From what we know of him, he seems to have been a prince who had the best opportunity, and with that the greatest inclination to be instructed in the politics, manners, and religion of other countries.

A convent had been long before this established at Jerusalem for the Abyssinians, which he in part endowed, as appears by his letters still extant, written to monks of that convent. He also obtained from the Pope a convent for the Abyssinians at Rome, which to this day is appropriated to them, though it is very seldom that either there, or even at Jerusalem, there are now any Abyssinians. By his desire, and in his name, ambassadors

sadors (*i.e.* priests from Jerusalem) were sent by Abba Nicodemus, the then Superior, who assisted at the council of Florence, where, however, they adhered to the opinion of the Greek church about the proceeding of the Holy Ghost, which created a schism between the Greek and Latin churches. This embassy was thought of consequence enough to be the subject of a painting in the Vatican, and to this picture we owe the knowledge of such an embassy having been sent.

BÆDA MARIAM.

FROM 1468 TO 1478.

BÆDA MARIAM succeeded to the throne against his father's inclination, after having received much ill usage during the earlier part of his life. His mother took so violent and irregular a longing to see her son king, that she formed a scheme, by the strength of a party of her relations and friends, trusting to the weakness of an old man, to force him into a partnership with his father. Examples of two kings, at the same time, and even in this degree of relation, were more than once to be found in the Abyssinian annals, but those times were now no more. A strong jealousy had succeeded to an unreasonable confidence, and had thrown both the person and pretensions of the heirs-apparent of this age to as great a distance as was possible.

Sion Magass, or the Grace of Sion, for such was the name of the queen, first began to tamper with the clergy, who, though they did not absolutely join her in her views, shewed her, however, more encouragement than was strictly consistent with their allegiance. From these she applied to some of the principal officers of state, and to those about the king, the best affected to her son and his succession. These, aware, of the evil tendency of her scheme, first advised her, by every means, to lay it aside; and afterwards, seeing she still persisted, and afraid of a discovery that would involve her accomplices in it, they disclosed the matter to the king himself, who represented the intention so heinously, that he ordered the queen to be beaten with rods till she expired.

Though

Though nothing had hitherto appeared to criminate the young prince, it was soon told the king, that, after the death of the queen, her son, Bæda Mariam had taken frankincense and wax-tapers from the churches, which he employed, at stated times, in the observation of the usual solemnities over his mother's grave. The king, having called his son before him, began to question him about what he had heard, while the prince, without hesitation, gave him a full account of every circumstance, glorying in what he said was his duty, and denying that he was accountable to any man on earth for the marks of affection which he shewed to his mother.

Bæda Mariam considering his son's justification as a reproach made to himself for cruelty, ordered the prince, and with him his principal friend Meherata Christos, to be loaded with irons, and banished to the top of a mountain; and it is hard to say where this punishment would have ended, had not the monks of Debra Koffo and Debra Libanas, and all those of the desert, (who thought themselves in some measure accomplices with his mother,) by exhortations, pretended prophecies, dreams and visions, convinced the king, that providence had decreed unalterably, that none but his son, Bæda Mariam, should succeed him. To this ordinance the old king bowed, as it gave him a prospect of the long continuance of his family on the throne of Abyssinia.

This king, while he was busy in planning the conquest of Adel, was seized with a pain in his bowels, whether from poison or otherwise, is not known, which put a period to his life. He was a prince of great bravery and conduct, very moderate in his pleasures, very devout, zealous for the established church, but steady in his resistance to the monks and other clergy in all their attempts towards persecution, innovation and independency.

ISCANDER, OR ALEXANDER.

FROM 1478 TO 1495.

KING Bæda Mariam being dead, the history of Abyssinia informs us, that a tumultuous meeting of the nobles brought from the mountain of Geshen the Queen Romana, with her son

son Iscander, who upon his arrival was crowned without any opposition. For several years after Iscander ascended the throne, the queen his mother, together with the Acab Saat, Tesfo Georgis, and Betwudet Amdu, governed the kingdom despotically under the name of the young king. Accordingly, after some years sufferance, a conspiracy was formed, at the head of which were two men of great power, Abba Amdu and Abba Hasabo; but the conspirators proving unsuccessful, some of them were imprisoned, some put to death, and others banished to unwholesome places, there to perish with hunger and fevers.

The king having proved successful in the war against Adel, in his return to Shoa, left his troops, which was the northern army, in the northern provinces, as he passed; so that he came to Shoa with a very small retinue, hearing that Za Saluce, his prime minister, and commander in chief, had gone to Amhara, of which place he was governor. This traitor, however, had left his creatures behind him, after instructing them what they were to do. Accordingly, the second day after Iscander's arrival in Tegulat, the capital of Shoa, they set upon him, during the night, in a small house in Aylo Meidan, and murdered him while he was sleeping. They concealed his body for some days in a mill, but Taka Christos, and some others of the king's friends, took up the corpse and exposed it to the people, who, with one accord, proclaimed Andreas, son of Iscander, king; and Za Saluce, and his adherents, traitors.

In the mean time, Za Saluce, far from finding the encouragement he expected in Amhara, was, upon his first appearance, set upon by the nobility of that province; and, being deserted by his troops, he was taken prisoner; his eyes were put out, and, being mounted on an ass, he was carried amidst the curses of the people through the provinces of Amhara and Shoa. Iscander was succeeded by his son Andreas, or Amda Sion, an infant, who reigned seven months only.

NAOD.

10.

NAOD.

FROM 1495 TO 1508.

SOON after the unfortunate death of the young king Alexander, the people in general, wearied of minorities, unanimously chose Naod for their king. He was Alexander's youngest brother, the difference of ages being but one year, though he was not by the same mother, but by the king's second wife Calliope.

Naod was no sooner seated on the throne than he published a very general and comprehensive amnesty. By proclamation he declared, "That any person who should upbraid another with being a party in the misfortunes of past times, or say that he had been privy to this or that conspiracy, or had been a favourite of the empress, or a partizan of Za Saluce, or had received bribes from the Moors, should, without delay, be put to death." This proclamation had the very best effect, as it quieted the mind of every guilty person when he saw the king, from whom he feared an inquiry, cutting off all possible means by which it could be procured against him.

Naod having, by his courage and prudence, freed himself from fear of a foreign war, set himself, like a wise prince, to the reforming of the abuses that prevailed every where among his people, and to the cultivation of the arts of peace. He died a natural death, after having reigned 13 years.

DAVID III.

FROM 1508 TO 1540.

DAVID was only eleven years old when he was placed upon the throne; and, at his inauguration, took the name of Lebna Denghel, or the virgin's frankincense; then that of Etana Denghel, or the myrrh of the virgin; and after that, of Wanag Segued, which signifies revered, or feared, among the lions, with whom, towards the last of his reign, he resided, in wilds and mountains more than with men. He died in the year 1540, after a reign of complicated misfortunes.

CLAUDIUS,

TRAVELS
TO DISCOVER THE
SOURCE OF THE NILE.

BOOK IV.

ANNALS OF ABYSSINIA.

CONTINUATION OF THE ANNALS, FROM THE DEATH OF
SOCINIOS TILL MR. BRUCE'S ARRIVAL IN ABYSSINIA.

FACILIDAS, OR SULTAN SEGUED.

FROM 1632 TO 1665.

FACILIDAS, in the fifth year of his reign, after having gained several victories over the neighbouring princes, passed the winter in Gafat; but a misfortune happened the following year, which very much affected the whole kingdom. The people of Lasta grew desperate from their former defeat, and determined again to try the fortune of war. Facilidas, trusting to his former reputation acquired in these mountains in his father's time, on the third of March 1638, advanced with a large army into Lasta, with a design to bring these peasants to a battle. But the rebels, growing wise by their losses, no longer chose to trust themselves on the plain, but,

but, retiring to the strongest posts, fortified them so judiciously, that, without risking any loss themselves, they cut off all supplies or provisions coming to the king's army.

It happened at that time the cold was so excessive that almost the whole army perished amidst the mountains; great part from famine, but a greater still from cold, a very remarkable circumstance in these latitudes. Lasta is barely 12° from the Line, and it was now the equinox in March, so that the sun was but 12° from being in the zenith of Lasta, and there was in the day twelve hours of sun. Yet here is an example of an army, not of foreigners, but natives, perishing with cold in their own country, when the sun is no farther than 12° from being vertical, or from being directly over their heads; a strong proof this, that there is no way of judging by the degrees of heat in the thermometer, what effect that degree of heat or cold is to have upon the human body.

Facilidas, after a long reign, in which nothing very remarkable occurred, was taken ill at Gondor, in the end of October, of a disease which, from its first appearance, he thought would prove mortal. He, therefore, sent to his eldest son Hannes, whom he had constantly kept with him, and who was now of age to govern, and recommended to him his kingdom, and the persevering in the ancient religion. He died the 30th of September 1665, in great peace and composure of mind, and they buried him at Azazo. Facilidas had every good quality necessary to constitute a great prince, without any alloy or mixture; that, upon so much provocation as he had, might have misled him to be a bad one. He was calm, dispassionate, and courteous in his behaviour. In the very difficult part he had to act between his father and the nation, the necessities of the times had taught him a degree of reserve, which, if it was not natural, was not therefore the less useful to him. He was in his own person the bravest soldier of his time, and always exposed himself in proportion as the occasion was important. To this were added all the qualities of a good general, in which character he seems to have equalled his father Socinios, who else was universally allowed to be the first of his time. Pierce and violent in battle,

victory gained by Nur was a complete one. The king and most of his principal officers were slain; great part of the army taken prisoners, the rest dispersed, and the camp plundered; so that no Moorish general had ever returned with the glory that he did. But afterwards, in his behaviour, he exhibited a spectacle more memorable, and that did him more honour than the victory itself; for, when he drew near to Adel, he clothed himself in poor attire, like a common foldier, and bare-headed, mounted on an ordinary mule, with an old saddle and tattered accoutrements; he forbade the songs and praise with which it is usual to meet conquerors in that country, when returning with victory from the field. He declined also all share in the success of that day, declaring that the whole of it was due to God alone, to whose mercy and immediate interposition he owed the destruction of the Christian army.

MENAS, OR ADAMAS SEGUED.

FROM 1559 TO 1563.

MENAS succeeded his brother Claudius, and found his kingdom in almost as great confusion as it had been left by his father David. As nothing occurs very remarkable in his reign, we shall pass on to his successor.

SERTZA DENGHEL, OR MELEC SEGUED.

FROM 1563 TO 1595.

HE was only twelve years old when he came to the throne, and was crowned at Axum with all the ancient ceremonies. The beginning of his reign was marked by a mutiny of his foldiers, who, joining themselves to some Mahometans, plundered the town, and then disbanded.

Sertza Denghel, having proved victorious in all his wars, determined to chastise the malcontents of a people called the Damots, when he was accosted by a priest, famous for his holiness and talent for divination, who advised him not to undertake that war; but the king expressed his contempt both of the advice and the adviser. The priest is said to have limited his advice still further, and to have only begged him

to remember not to eat the fish of a certain river in the territory of Giba, in the province of Shat. The king, however, flushed with his former victories, forgot the name of the river and the injunction; and, having eat fish out of this river, was immediately after taken dangerously ill, and died on his return. The writer of his life says, that the fatal effects of this river were afterwards experienced in the reign of Yafous the Great, at the time in which he wrote, when the king's whole army, encamped along the sides of this river, were taken with violent sickness after eating the fish caught in it, and that many of the soldiers died. Whether this be really fact or not, Mr. Bruce does not take upon him to decide. Whether fish, or any other animal, living in water impregnated with poisonous minerals, can preserve its own life, and yet imbibe a quantity of poison sufficient to destroy the men that should eat it, seems to him very doubtful.

Sertza Denghel was of a very humane, affable disposition, very different from his father Menas. He was stedfast in his adherence to the church of Alexandria, and seemed perfectly indifferent as to the Romish church and clergy. In conversation, he frequently condemned their tenets, but always commended the sobriety and sanctity of their lives.

Z A D E N G H E L.

FROM 1525 TO 1604.

NO sooner was Sertza Denghel dead, perhaps some time before, but a conspiracy was formed to change the order of succession, and this was immediately executed by order of the triumvirate, who sent a body of soldiers and seized Za Denghel, and carried him close prisoner to Deck, a large island in the lake Tzana, belonging to the queen, where he was kept for some time, till he escaped and hid himself in the wild inaccessible mountains of Gojam, which there form the banks of the Nile. He was, however, afterwards restored, and converted to the Romish religion. The transaction of this and the two succeeding reigns were, in a manner, but one continued scene of rebellion, bloodshed and slaughter. The Roman Catholic missionaries sent to Abyssinia also employ several sheets in the original work; but as these are matters foreign to the plan of an abridgment, we shall only observe,

observe, that Za Denghel was succeeded by Jacob, who reigned from 1604 to 1605, and was succeeded by Socinios, who reigned from 1605 to 1632. We shall conclude this book with an extract or two from the occurrences of this last reign.

Mr. Bruce, in his account of the kingdom of Gingiro, says, all matters in this state are conducted by magic; and we may see to what point the human understanding is debased in the distance of a few leagues. Let no man say that ignorance is the cause, or heat of climate, which is the unintelligible observation generally made on these occasions. For why should heat of climate addict a people to magic more than cold? or, why should ignorance enlarge a man's powers, so that, overleaping the bounds of common intelligence, it should extend his faculty of conversing with a new set of beings in another world? The Ethiopians, who nearly surround Abyssinia, are blacker than those of Gingiro, their country hotter, and are, like them, an indigenous people that have been, from the beginning, in the same part where they now inhabit. Yet the former neither adore the devil nor pretend to have a communication with him; they have no human sacrifices, nor are there any traces of such enormities having prevailed among them. A communication with the sea has been always open, and the slave-trade prevalent from the earliest times; while the king of Gingiro, shut up in the heart of the continent, sacrifices those slaves to the devil which he has no opportunity to sell to man. For at Gingiro begins that accursed custom of making the shedding of human blood a necessary part in all solemnities. How far to the southward this reaches Mr. Bruce does not pretend to know; but he looks upon this to be the geographical bounds of the reign of the devil on the north side of the equator in the peninsula of Africa.

When the king of Gingiro dies, the body of the deceased is wrapped in a fine cloth, and a cow is killed. They then put the body so wrapped up into the cow's skin. As soon as this is over, all the princes of the royal family fly and hide themselves in the bushes; while others, intrusted with the election, enter into the thickets, beating every where about as if looking for game. At last a bird of prey, called in their country Liber, appears, and hovers over the person destined

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destined to be king, crying and making a great noise without quitting his station. By this means the person destined to be elected is found, surrounded, as is reported, by tigers, lions, panthers, and such-like wild beasts. This is imagined to be done by magic, or the devil, else there are every where enough of these beasts lying in the cover to furnish materials for such a tale, without having recourse to the power of magic to assemble them. As they find their king, like a wild beast, so his behaviour continues the same after he is found. He flies upon them with great rage, resisting to the last, wounding and killing all he can reach without any consideration, till, overcome by force, he is dragged to a throne, which he fills in a manner perfectly corresponding to the rationality of the ceremonies of his instalment.

Before the king enters his palace, two men are to be slain; one at the foot of the tree by which his house is chiefly supported; the other at the threshold of his door, which is besmeared with the blood of the victim. And, it is said, that the particular family, whose privilege it is to be slaughtered, so far from avoiding it, glory in the occasion, and offer themselves willingly to meet it.

The Ethiopic memoirs of Socinios's reign is interrupted to record a very trifling anecdote, which Mr. Bruce inserts, as it serves to give some idea of the simplicity and ignorance of those times. The historian says, that this year there was brought into Abyssinia, a bird called *Para*, which was about the bigness of a hen, and spoke all languages; Italian, Portuguese, and Arabic. It named the king's name; although its voice was that of a man, it could likewise neigh like a horse, and mew like a cat, but did not sing like a bird. It was produced before the assembly of judges of the priests, and the azages of court, and there it spoke with great gravity. The assembly, after considering circumstances well, were unanimously of opinion, that the evil spirit had no part in endowing it with these talents. But to be certain of this, it was thought most prudent to take the advice of Ras Sela Christos, then in Gojam, who might, if he thought fit, consult the superior of Mahebar Selassé; to them it was sent, but it died on the road. The historian closes his narrative by this wise reflection on the parrot's death, "Such is the lot of all flesh."

CLAUDIUS, OR ATZENAF SEGUED.

FROM 1540 TO 1559.

CLAUDIUS succeeded his father David III, being yet young, and found the empire in circumstances that would have required an old and experienced prince. But, though young, he possessed those graceful and affable manners, which, at first sight, attached people of all sorts to him. He had been tutored with great care by the empress Helena, was expert in all warlike exercises, and brave beyond his years. Such is the character given this prince by the Abyssinian writers; but Mr. Bruce is of opinion that he did not merit these encomiums.

Under this reign, Mr. Bruce relates some particulars of Nur, governor of Zeyla, and general of the Moors, which, in spite of the narrow limits to which we are confined, we cannot avoid transcribing. He was deeply in love with a widow lady, Del Wumbarez, from whom he had marks of gratitude to expect, as he had assisted her in making her escape into Atbara that day her husband was slain. But this heroine had constantly refused to listen to any proposals; nay, had vowed she never would give her hand in marriage to any man, till he should first bring her the head of Claudius, who had slain her husband. Nur willingly accepted the condition, which gave him few rivals.

Claudius, who had hitherto been victorious, had marched towards Adel, when he received a message from Nur, that, there still remained a governor of Zeyla, whose family was chosen as a particular instrument for shedding the blood of the Abyssinian princes; and desired him, therefore, to be prepared, for he was speedily to set out to come to him. Claudius had been employed in various journeys through different parts of his kingdom, repairing the churches which the Moors had burnt; and he was then rebuilding that of Debra Werk when this message of Nur was brought to him. This prince was of a temper never to avoid a challenge; and if he did not march against Nur immediately, he stood no longer than to complete his army as far as possible. He then began his march for Adel, very much, as it is said, against the advice of his friends.

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This advice was singular, as he was at that time victorious. But many prophecies were current in the camp, that the king was to be unfortunate this campaign, and in which he was to lose his life. These unfortunate rumours tended much to discourage the army, at the same time that they seemed to have a contrary effect on the king, and to confirm him in his resolution to fight.

Both armies were drawn up and ready to engage, when the chief priest of Debra Libanos came to the king to tell him a dream, or vision, which warned him not to fight; but the Moors were then advancing, and the king on horseback made no reply, but marched briskly forward to the enemy. The cowardly Abyssinians, upon the first fire, fled, leaving the king engaged in the middle of the Moorish army, with twenty horse and eighteen Portuguese musqueteers, who were all slain around his person; and he himself fell, after fighting manfully, and receiving twenty wounds. His head was cut off, and by Nur delivered to Del Wumbarea, who directed it to be tied by the hair to the branch of a tree before her door, that she might keep it constantly in sight. Here it remained three years, till it was purchased from her by an Armenian merchant, her first grief, having, it is probable, subsided upon the acquisition of a new husband. The merchant carried the head to Antioch, and buried it there in the sepulchre of a saint of the same name.

In this manner died king Claudius, in the 19th year of his reign, who, by his virtues and capacity, might hold a first place among any series of kings we have known, victorious in every action he fought, except in that one only in which he died. A great slaughter was made after this among the routed, and many of the first nobility were slain in endeavouring to escape; among the rest, the dreamer from Debra Libanos, his vision, by which he knew the king's death, not having extended so far as to reveal his own. The Abyssinians immediately transferred the name of this prince into their catalogue of saints, and he is called St. Claudius in that country to this day.

This battle was fought on the 22d March 1559; and the victory

tle, he was backward in shedding blood after it. Though an enemy to the Catholic religion, yet, from duty to his father, he lived with the patriarch and Jesuits upon so familiar a footing, that they confess themselves, it was not from any part of his behaviour to them they ever could judge him an enemy. He was most remarkable for an implicit submission to his father's commands; and, upon this principle, fought in favour of the Catholic religion and against his own friends and persuasion, because such were the orders of his sovereign.

HANNES I. OR OELAFE SEGUED.

FROM 1665 TO 1680.

THIS prince was not in his nature averse to war, though, besides two feeble attempts he made upon Lasta, and one against the Shangalla, all without material consequences, no military expedition was undertaken in his time; and no rebellion or competitor (so frequent in other reigns) at all disturbed him. He seems to have had the seeds of bigotry in his temper; from the beginning of his reign he commanded the Mahometans to eat no other flesh but what had been killed by Christians; and gathered together the catholic books, which the Jesuits had translated into the Ethiopic language, and burned them in a heap. Much of his attention was given to church matters, and, in regulating these, he seems to have employed most of his time.

Hannes died the 19th of July, and was buried at Tedda, after having reigned 15 years. He seems, from the scanty memorials of his long reign, to have been a weak prince; but, perhaps, if the circumstances of the times were fully known, he may have been a wise one.

YASOUS I.

FROM 1680 TO 1704.

YASOUS succeeded his father Hannes with the approbation of the whole kingdom. He had twice in Hannes's life-time absconded from the palace, and this was interpreted as implying

plying an impatience to reign. But Mr. Bruce rather thinks the cause was a difference of manners, his father being extremely bigoted, fordid, and covetous; for he never, in those elopements, pretended to make a party contrary to his father's interest, nor shewed the least inclination to give either the army or the people a favourable impression of himself, to the disadvantage of the king. There was, besides, a difference in religious principles. Yafous had a great predilection for the monks of Debra Libanos, or the high church; while Hannes, his father, had done every thing in his power to instil into his son a prepossession in favour of those of Abba Eustathius. To these opinions, therefore, so widely different, as well in religion as the things of the world, Mr. Bruce attributes the young prince's disinclination to live with his father. This seems confirmed by the first step he took upon his mounting the throne, which was to make an alteration in the church government, from what his father had left it at his death.

The king then took a journey of a very extraordinary nature, and such as Abyssinia had never before seen. Attended only by his nobility, of whom a great number had flocked to him, he sat down at the foot of the mountain of Wechné, and ordered all the princes of the royal family who were banished and confined there, to be brought to him. During the last reign, the mountains of Wechné, and those forlorn princes that lived upon it, had been as it were, totally forgotten. Hannes having sons of age fit to govern, and his eldest son Yafous living below with his father, no room seemed to remain for attempting a revolution, by the young candidates escaping from the mountain. This oblivion to which they were consigned, melancholy as it was, proved the best state these unhappy prisoners could have wished; for to be much known for either good or bad qualities, did always at some period become fatal to the individuals. Punishment always followed inquiries after a particular prince; and all messages, questions, or visits, at the instance of the king, were constantly forerunners of the loss of life, or amputation of limbs, to these unhappy exiles. To be forgotten, then, was to be safe: but this safety carried very heavy distress along with it. Their revenues were embezzled by their officers or keepers, and all

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paid by the king; and the sordid temper of Hannes had often reduced them all to the danger of perishing with hunger and cold.

The new king, Yafous, as he was well acquainted with all these circumstances, so he was, in his nature and disposition, as perfectly willing to repair the injuries that were past, and prevent the like in future. In consequence of this, there soon appeared as risen from the dead, Claudius son of Socinios, the first exile who was sent to the mountain of Wechné by his brother Facilidas, grandfather of Yafous. This was the prince who was fixed upon by the Jesuits to succeed his father, and govern that country when converted to the Romish religion by their intrigues, and conquered by the arms of the Portuguese. This was the prince, who, to make their enemies appear more odious, these Jesuits have asserted was slain by his brother Facilidas, one instance by which we may judge of the justice of the other charges laid against that humane, wise, and virtuous prince, whose only crime was an inviolable attachment to the religion and constitution of his country, and the just abhorrence he most reasonably had, as an independent prince, to submit the prerogatives of his crown, and the rights of his people, to the blind controul of a foreign prelate.

The sons of Facilidas, with their families, also came from the mountain, and likewise his own brothers, Ayto Theophilus, and Ayto Claudius, sons of his father Hatza Hannes. The sight of so many noble relations, some advanced in years, some in the flower of their youth, and some yet children; all, however, in tatters, and almost naked, made such an impression on the young king, that he burst into tears. Nor was his behaviour to the respective degrees of them less proper or engaging. To the old he paid that reverence and respect due to parents; to those about his own age, a kind and liberal familiarity; while he bestowed upon the young ones caresses and commendations sweetened with the hopes that they might see better times. His first care was to provide them all plentifully with apparel and every necessary. His brothers he dressed like himself, and his uncles still more richly.

richly. He then divided a large sum of money among them all.

In the month of December, which is the pleasantest season of the whole year, the sun being moderately hot, the sky constantly clear and without a cloud, all the court was encamped under the mountain, and the inferior fort strewed along the grass. All were treated at the expense of the king, passing the day and night in continual festivals. "It is but right, (said the king,) that I should pay for a pleasure so great, that none of my predecessors ever dared to taste it;" and of all that noble assembly none seemed to enjoy it more sincerely than the king. All pardons solicited for criminals at this time were granted. In this manner, having spent a whole month, before his departure, the king called for the *deftar*, (*i. e.* the treasury book) in which the account of the sum allowed for the maintenance of these prisoners is stated; and having inquired strictly into the expenditure, and cancelled all grants that had been made of any part of that sum to others, and provided in future for the full, as well as yearly payment of it, he, for his last act, gave to the governor of the mountain a large accession of territory, to make him ample amends for the loss of the dues he was understood to be entitled to from that revenue. After this, he embraced them all, assuring them of his constant protection; and, mounting his horse, he took the keeper along with him, leaving all the royal family at their liberty at the foot of the mountain.

So generous a conduct, and this last mark of confidence, more than all the rest, touched the minds of that noble troop, who hurried every man with his utmost speed to restore themselves voluntarily to their melancholy prison, imputing every moment of delay as a step towards treason and ingratitude to their munificent, compassionate, and magnanimous benefactor. All their way was moistened with tears flowing from sensible and thankful hearts; and all the mountain resounded with prayers for the long life and prosperity of the king, and that the crown might never leave the lineal descendants of his family. It was very remarkable, that, during this long reign, though he was constantly involved in

war,

war, no competitor from the mountain ever appeared in breach of those vows they had so voluntarily undertaken.

Another great advantage the king reaped by this generous conduct, was that all the most powerful and considerable people in the kingdom had an opportunity, at one view, to see each individual of the royal family that was capable of wearing the crown, and all with one voice agreed, upon the comparison made, that, if they had been then assembled to elect a king, the choice would not have fallen upon any but the present.

Yasous is reported to have been the most graceful and dexterous horsemen of his time. He distinguished himself in hunting as much for his address and courage against the beasts, as he had, for a short while before, done by his affability, generosity, and benevolence, amidst his own family. All was praise, all was enthusiasm, wherever the young king presented himself; the ill-boding monks and hermits had not yet dared to foretel evil, but every common mouth predicted this was to be an active, vigorous, and glorious reign, without being thought by this to have laid any pretension to the gift of prophecy.

In the 9th year of the reign of Yasous, there appeared a comet, remarkable for its size and fiery brightness of its body, and for the prodigious length and distinctness of its tail. It was first taken notice of at Gondar, two days before the feast of St. Michael, on which day the army takes the field. A sight so uncommon alarmed all sorts of people; and the prophets, who had kept themselves within very moderate bounds during this whole reign, now thought that it was incumbent upon them to distinguish themselves, and be silent no longer. Accordingly, they foretold, from this phenomenon, and published every where as a truth, infallibly and immutably pre-ordained, that the present campaign was to exhibit a scene of carnage and bloodshed, more terrible and more extensive than any thing that ever had appeared in the annals of Ethiopia. That these torrents of blood, which were every where to follow the footsteps of the king, were to be stopped by his death, which was to happen before he ever returned

returned again to Gondar; and, as the object of the king's expedition was still a secret, these alarming presages gained a great deal of credit. But it was not so with Yafous, who, notwithstanding he was importuned, by learned men of all sorts, to put off his departure for some days, absolutely refused, answering always such requests by irony and derision; "Pho! Pho! (says he) you are not in the right; we must give the comet fair play; use him well, or he will never appear again, and then idle people and old women will have nothing to amuse themselves with."

Yafous accordingly left Gondar at the time he had appointed; and he was already arrived at Amdaber, a few days distance from the capital, when an express brought him word of his mother's death, on which he immediately marched back to Gondar, and buried her in the island of Mitraha with all possible magnificence, and with every mark of sincere grief.

The prophets, though they had not succeeded in what they foretold, they kept nevertheless a good countenance. It is true that no blood was shed, nor did the king die before he returned to Gondar; but his mother died when he was away, and that was much the same thing; for they contended, that it was not a great mistake, from the bare authority of a comet, to err only in the sex of the person that was to die, a queen for a king was a very near calculation. As for the bloody story and the king's death, they said they had mistaken the year in computing, but that it still was to happen (when it pleased God) *some other time*.

These explanations were allowed by the people to be the best possible, excepting the king, who perceived a degree of malice in the foretelling his death and certain loss of his army, just at the instant he was taking the field. But he disguised his resentment under strong irony with which he attacked these diviners incessantly. He had inquired accurately the day of his mother's death: "How is it, (says he to his chaplain, or kees hatzé) that this comet should come to *foretel* my mother's death, when she was dead four days before it appeared?" Another day to the same person he said, "I fear
you

you do my mother too much honour at the expense of religion. Is it decent to suppose that such a star, like that which appeared at the birth of Christ, should now be employed on no greater errand than to foretel the death of the daughter of Guebra Mascal?" These, and many other such railleries, accounted by these visionaries as little short of impiety, so mortified Koflé (the kees hatzé,) a great believer in, and protector of the dreamers, that he resigned all his employments, and retired among the hermits into the desert of Werk-lewa towards Sennaar, to study the aspects of the stars more accurately, and more at leisure.

A sudden and violent alarm began the tenth year, and spread itself in an instant all over the kingdom without any certain authority. The Galla with an innumerable army were said to have entered Gojam, at several places, and laid waste the whole province, and this was the more extraordinary, as the Nile was now in the height of its inundation. On his march, the king learned, that this story arose merely from a panic; and this formidable army turned out to be no more than a small band of robbers of that nation, who had passed the river in their usual way, part on horseback, while the foot were dragged over, hanging to the horses tails, or riding on goats skins blown up with the wind. This small party had surprised some weak villages, killed the inhabitants, and immediately returned across the river. But the alarm continued, and there were people at Gondar, who were ready to swear they saw the villages and churches on fire, and a large army of Galla in their march to Ibaba, at the same time that there was not one Galla on the Gojam side of the river. Yafous, however, either considering this small body of Galla coming at this unseasonable time, and the panic that was so artificially spread, as a feint to throw him off his guard when a real invasion might be intended, or with a view to cover his own designs, summoned all the men of the province of Gojam to meet him in arms at Ibaba the 7th day of January, being the proper season for preparing an expedition into the country of the Galla.

Yafous, for his first wife, had married Ozoro Malacotawir, a lady of great family and connections in the province of Gojam.

jam. By her he had a son, Tecla Haimanout, who was grown to manhood, and had hitherto lived in the most dutiful affection and submission to his father, who, on his part, seemed to place unlimited confidence in his son. He now gave a proof of this, not very common in the annals of Abyssinia, by leaving Tecla Haimanout behind him, at an age when he was fit to reign, appointing Betwudet, with absolute power to govern in his absence. Yafous had a mistress whom he tenderly loved, a woman of great quality likewise, whose name was Ozoro Kedusté.

While the king was watching the motions of the Galla, news was brought that Ozoro Kedusté had been taken ill of a fever; and though, upon this intelligence, he disposed his affairs so as to return with all possible expedition, yet when he came to Bercanté, the lady's house, he found that she was not only dead but had been for sometime buried. All his presence of mind now left him; he fell into the most violent transport of wild despair, and, ordering her tomb to be opened he went down into it, taking his three sons along with him who he had by her, and became so frantic at the sight of the corpse, that it was with the utmost difficulty he could be forced again to leave the sepulchre. He returned first to Gondar, then he retired to an island in lake Tzana, there to mourn his lost mistress.

The king in the mean time, having finished his mourning, dispatched Badjerund Oustas to his son the Betwudet, at Gondar, ordering him forthwith to send him a body of his household troops to rendezvous on the banks of the lake, opposite to the island Tchekla Wunze, where he then had his residence. It has been said, contrary to all truth, by those who have written travels into this country, that sons born in marriage had the same preference in succession as they have in other countries. But this is entirely without foundation: for, in the first place, there is no such thing as a regular marriage in Abyssinia; all consists in mere consent of parties. But, allowing this to be regular, not only natural children, that is, those born in concubinage, where no marriage was in contemplation, and adulterous bastards, that is, the sons of unmarried women by married men, and all manner of sons whatever, succeed equally as well to the crown as to private

private inheritance; and there cannot be a more clear example of this than in the present king, who, although he had a son, Tecla Haimanout, born of the queen Malacotawit in wedlock, was yet succeeded by three bastard brothers, all sons of Yafous, born in adultery, that is, in the life of the queen. David and Hannes were sons of the king by his favourite Ozoro Kedasté; Bacuffa, by another lady of quality.

Though the queen, Malacotawit, had passed over with seeming indifference the preference the king had given his mistress, Ozoro Kedusté, during her life time, yet, from a very unaccountable kind of jealousy, she could not forgive those violent tokens of affection the king had shewn after her death, by going down with his sons and remaining with the body in the grave. Full of resentment for this, she had persuaded her son, Tecla Haimanout, that Yafous had determined to deprive him of his succession, to send him and her, his mother, both to Wechné, and place his bastard brother, David, son of Ozoro Kedusté, upon the throne. The queen had been very diligent in attaching to her the principal people about the court. By her own friends, and the assistance of the discontented and banished monks, she had raised a great army in Gofam, under her brothers, Dermen and Paulus. Tecla Haimanout had shewn great signs of wisdom and talents for governing, and very much attached to himself some of his father's oldest and ablest servants. It was, therefore, agreed, in return to Yafous's message by Onstas, to answer, That, after so long a reign, and so much bloodshed, the king would do well to retire to some convent for the rest of his life, and atone for the many great sins he had committed; and that he should leave the kingdom in the hands of his son Tecla Haimanout, as the ancient king Caleb had resigned his crown into the hands of St. Pantaleon in favour of his son Guebra Maschal. As it was not very safe to deliver such a message to a king, such as Yafous, it was therefore sent to him by a common foot-soldier, who could not be an object of resentment.

The king received it at Tchekla Wunze, the island in the lake Tzana, where he was then residing. He answered with great sharpness, by the same messenger, "That he had been long

long informed who these were that had seduced his son. Tecla Haimanout, at once from his duty to him as his father, and his allegiance as his sovereign; that though he did not hold them to be equal in sanctity to St. Pantaleon, yet such as they were, he proposed immediately to meet them at Gondar, and settle there his son's coronation."

A message like this could not fail of being perfectly understood. Those of the court that were with Tecla Haimanout, and the inhabitants of the capital, met together, and bound themselves by a solemn oath to live and die with their king Tecla Haimanout. The severity of Yafous was well known; his provocation now was a just one; and the measure of vengeance that awaited them, every one concerned knew to be such, that there was no alternative but death or victory. Neither party were slack in preparations. Kasmati Honorius, governor of Damot, a veteran officer and old servant of Yafous, collected a large body of troops and marched them down the west side of the lake. Yafous having there joined them, and putting himself at the head of his army, began his march, rounding the lake on its south side towards Dingleber.

Tecla Haimanout, after hearing his father was in motion, marched with his army from Gondar, attended with all the ensigns of royalty. He encamped at Bartcho, in that very field where Za Denghel was defeated and slain by his rebellious subjects. Thinking this a post ominous to kings, he resolved to wait for his father there, and give him battle. The king, in his march through the low country of Dembea, was attacked by a putrid fever, very common in those parts, which so increased upon him, that he was obliged to be carried back to Tchekla Wunze. This accident discouraged his whole party. His army, with Honorius, took the road to Gojam, but did not disperse, awaiting the recovery of the king. But the queen Malacotawit, no sooner heard that Yafous her husband was sick at Tchekla Wunze, than she sent to her son Tecla Haimanout to leave his unwholesome station, and march back immediately to Gondar; and, as soon as he was returned, she dispatched her two brothers Derrin and Paulus, with a body of soldiers and two Mahometan musqueteers,

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who, entering the island Tchekla Wunze by surprise, shot and disabled the king while sitting on a couch; immediately after which, Dermin thrust him through with a sword. They attempted afterwards to burn the body, in order to avoid the ill-will the sight of it must occasion. In this, however, they were prevented by the priests of the island and the neighbouring nobility, who took possession of the body, washed it, and performed all the rites of sepulture, then carried it in a kind of triumph, with every mark of magnificence due to the burial of a king, interring it in the small island of Mitraha, where lay the body of all his ancestors, and where Mr. Bruce saw the body of this king still entire. Nor did the prince his son, Tecla Haimanout, now, discourage the people in the respect they voluntarily paid to his father. On the contrary, that parricide himself shewed every outward mark of duty, to which inwardly his heart had been long a stranger.

Poncet, who saw this king, gives this character of him: He says he was a man very fond of war, but averse to the shedding of blood. However this may appear a contradiction or said for the sake of the antithesis, it really was the true character of this prince, who, fond of war, and in the perpetual career of victory, did, by pushing his conquests as far as they could go, inevitably occasion the spilling of much blood. Yet, when his army was not in the field, though he had detected a multitude of conspiracies among priests and other people at home, whose lives in consequence were forfeited to the law, he very rarely, either from his own motives, or the persuasion of others, could be induced to inflict capital punishments, though often strongly provoked to it.

TECLA HAIMNOUT I.

FROM 1704 TO 1706.

ELIAS the Armenian, who was charged with letters of protection from Yafous to meet the missionary M. du Roule at Sennaar, where he had been murdered, had reached within three days journey of that capital, when he heard that king

Yafous

Yasous was assassinated. Terrified at the news, he returned in the utmost haste to Gondar, and presented the letters, which had been written by Yasous, to be renewed by his son, king Tecla Haimanout. Tecla Haimanout read his father's letters, and approved of their contents, ordering them to be copied in his own name; and Elias without delay set out with them. Mr. Bruce has here inserted a translation of these letters, which were originally written in Arabic, and appeared to Mr. Bruce to be of the few that are authentic, among those many which have been published as coming from Abyssinia.

“ The king Tecla Haimanout, son of the king of the church of Ethiopia, king of a thousand churches. On the part of the powerful august king, arbiter of nations, shadow of God upon earth, the guide of kings who profess the religion of the Messiah, the most powerful of Christian kings, he that maintains order between Mahometans and Christians, protector of the boundaries of Alexandria, observer of the commandments of the gospel, descended of the line of the prophets David and Solomon,—may the blessing of Israel be upon our prophet, and upon them.—To the king Eaddy, son of the king Ounsa, may his reign be full of happiness, being a prince endowed with these rare qualities that deserve the highest praises as governing his kingdom with distinguished wisdom, and by an order full of equity.—The king of France, who is a Christian, wrote a letter seven or eight years ago, by which he signified to me, that he wished to open a trade for the advantage of his own subjects and of mine, which request we have granted. We come at present to understand, that he has sent us presents by a man whose name is Du Roule, who has likewise several others along with him, and that these people have been arrested at your town of Sennaar. We require of you, therefore, to set them immediately at liberty, and to suffer them to come to us with all the marks of honour, and that you should pay regard to the ancient friendship which has always subsisted between our predecessors since the time of the king of Sedged and the king of Kim, to the present day. We also demand of you to suffer all the subjects of the king of France to pass, and all those that come with

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with letters of his consul who is at Cairo, as all such Frenchmen come for trade only, being of the same religion with us. We likewise recommend to you, that you permit to pass freely, all French Christians, Copts and Syrians who follow our rites, observing our religion, and who intend coming into our country; and that you do not suffer any of those who are contrary to our religion to pass, such as the monk Joseph, and his companions, whom you may keep at Sennaar, it being in no shape our intention to suffer them to come into our dominions, where they would occasion troubles, as being enemies to our faith. God grant you your desires."—Wrote the 10th of Zulkadé, Anno 1118, i. e. the 21 of January 1706.

The direction is—"To king Baady, son of king Ounsa, may God favour him with his grace."

Mr. Bruce remarks on this letter, that the Arabs, who fed their flocks near the frontiers of the two countries, were often plundered by the kings of Abyssinia making descents into Atbara; but this was never reckoned a violation of peace between the two sovereigns. On the contrary, as the motive of the Arabs, for coming south into the frontiers of Abyssinia, was to keep themselves independent, and out of the reach of Sennaar, when the king of Abyssinia fell upon them there, he was understood to do that monarch service, by driving them down farther within his reach. The Baharnagash has been always at war with them; they are tributary to him for eating his grass and drinking his water, and nothing that ever he does to them gives any trouble or inquietude to Sennaar. It is interpreted as maintaining his ancient dominion over the Shepherds, those of Sennaar being a new power, and accounted as usurpers.

*Translation of an Arabic Letter, from the King of
Abyssinia to M. du Roule.*

"THE king Tecla Haimanout, king of the established church, son of the king of a thousand churches.

"This letter cometh forth from the venerable, august king, who is the shadow of God, guide of Christian princes that
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are in the world, the most powerful of the Nazarean kings, observer of the commandments of the gospel, protector of the confines of Alexandria, he that maintaineth order between Mahometans and Christians, descended from the family of the prophets David and Solomon, upon whom being the blessings of Israel, may God make his happiness eternal, and his power perpetual, and protect his arms—So be it.—To his excellency the most virtuous and most prudent man Du Roule, a Frenchman sent to us, may God preserve him, and make him arrive at a degree of eminence—So be it.—Elias, your interpreter, whom you sent before you,—being arrived here, has been well received. We have understood that you are sent to us on the part of the king of France our brother, and are surprised that you have been detained at Sennaar. We send to you at present a letter for king Baady, in order that he may set you at liberty, and not do you any injury, nor to those that are with you, but may behave in a manner that is proper both for you and to us, according to the religion of Elias that you sent, who is a Syrian; and all those that may come after you from the king of France our brother, or his consul at Cairo, shall be well received, whether they be ambassadors or private merchants, because we love those that are of our religion. We receive with pleasure those who do not oppose our laws, and we send away those that do oppose them. For this reason, we did not receive immediately Joseph with all his companions, not choosing that such sort of people should appear in our presence, nor intending that they should pass Sennaar, in order to avoid troubles which may occasion the death of many; but with respect to you, have nothing to fear, you may come in all safety, and you shall be received with honour.”—Written the 10th of the month Zulkadé, Anno 1118, *i. e.* the 21st of January of the year 1706.

The address is—“Let the present be delivered to M. du Roule, at the town of Sennaar.”

The unlucky messenger, Elias, was again about to enter Sennaar, when he received information that Du Roule was assassinated. If he had fled hastily from this inauspicious place upon the murder of Yafous, his haste was now tenfold,

as he considered himself engaged in the circumstances that had involved M. du Roule's attendants in his misfortunes. The king, upon hearing the account given by Elias of the melancholy fate of the ambassador at Sennaar, was so exasperated that he gave immediate orders for recalling such of his troops as he had permitted to go to any considerable distance; and, in a council held for that purpose, he declared that he considered the death of M. du Roule as an affront that immediately affected his crown and dignity. He was, therefore, determined not to pass it over, but to make the king of Sennaar sensible that he, as well as all the other kings upon earth, knew the necessity of observing the law of nations, and the bad consequence of perpetual retaliations that must follow the violation of it. In the mean time, thinking that the basha of Cairo was the cause of this, he wrote the following letter to him.

Translation of an Arabic Letter from the King of Abyssinia to the Basha and Divan of Cairo.

"To the Pacha, and Lords of the Militia of Cairo. On the part of the king of Abyssinia, the king Tecla Haimanout, son of the king of the church of Abyssinia. On the part of the august king, the powerful arbiter of nations, shadow of God upon earth, the guide of kings who profess the religion of the Messiah, the most powerful of all Christian kings, he who maintains order between Mahometans and Christians, protector of the confines of Alexandria, observer of the commandments of the gospel, heir from father to son of a most powerful kingdom, descended of the family of David and Solomon,—may the blessing of Israel be upon our prophet, and upon them! may his happiness be durable, and his greatness lasting, and may his powerful army be always feared!—To the most powerful lord, elevated by his dignity, venerable by his merits, distinguished by his strength and riches among all Mahometans, the refuge of all those that reverence him, who by his prudence governs and directs the armies of the noble empire, and commands his confines; victorious viceroy of Egypt, the four corners of which shall be always respected

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and defended :—So be it—And to all the distinguished princes, judges, men of learning, and other officers, whose business it is to maintain order and good government, and to all commanders in general, may God preserve them all in their dignities, in the nobleness of their health. You are to know that our ancestors never bore any envy to other kings, nor did they ever occasion them any trouble, or show them any mark of hatred. On the contrary, they have, upon all occasions, given them proofs of their friendship, assisting them generously, relieving them in their necessities, as well in what concerns the caravan and pilgrims of Mecca and Arabia Felix, as in the Indies, in Persia, and other distant and out-of-the-way places, also by protecting distinguished persons in every urgent necessity. Nevertheless, the king of France, our brother, who professes our religion and our law, having been induced thereto, by some advances of friendship on our part, such as are proper, sent an ambassador to us ; I understand that you caused him to be arrested at Sannaar, and also another, by name Murat, the Syrian, whom you did put in prison also, though he was sent to that ambassador on our part, and by thus doing, you have violated the law of nations, as ambassadors of kings ought to be at liberty to go wherever they will ; and it is a general obligation to treat them with honour, and not to molest or detain them, nor should they be subject to pay customs, or any sort of presents. We could very soon repay you in kind, if we were inclined to revenge the insult you have offered to the man Murat sent on our part, the Nile would be sufficient to punish you, since God hath put into our power his fountain, his outlet, and his increase, and that we can dispose of the same to do you harm. For the present we demand of, and exhort you to desist from any future vexations towards our envoys, and not disturb us by detaining those who shall be sent towards you, but you shall let them pass and continue their route without delay, coming and going whenever they will freely for their own advantage, whether they are our subjects or Frenchmen, and whatever you shall do to or for them, we shall regard as done to or for ourselves.”

The address is—“ To the basha, princes, and lords governing

ing the town of great Cairo, may God favour them with his goodness."

There are some things very remarkable in this letter. The king of Abyssinia values himself, and his predecessors, upon never having molested or troubled any of his neighbours who were kings, nor borne any envy towards them. We are not then to believe what we see often in history, that there was frequent war between Sennaar and Abyssinia, or that Sennaar was tributary to Abyssinia. That stripe of country inhabited by the Shangalla, would, in this case, have been first conquered. But it is more probable, that the great difference of climate, which immediately takes place between the two kingdoms, the great want of water on the frontiers, barriers placed there by the hand of nature, have been the means of keeping these kingdoms from having any mutual concerns; and so, indeed, we may guess by the utter silence of the books, which never mention any war at Sennaar till the beginning of the reign of Socinios.

The next thing remarkable is his protection of the pilgrims who go to Mecca, and the merchants who go to India. Several caravans of both set out yearly from his kingdom, all Mahometans, some of whom go to Mecca for religion, the others to India, by Mocha, to trade.

The king, after having conquered all his enemies, was persuaded, by some of his favourites, first to dismiss Dermin, his general, and his army, then all the troops, that had joined him, and go with a few of his attendants, or court, to hunt the buffalo in the neighbouring country, Idi; which council the young prince too rashly adopted, suspecting no treason.

During the hunting match, a conspiracy was formed by Gueber Mo, his two brothers, Palambaras, Hannes, and several others, old officers, belonging to the late king Yafous, who saw that he intended, one by one, to weed them out of the way as soon as safely he could, and that the whole power and favour was at last to fall into the hands of the Iteghé, and her brothers Dermin and Paulus. Accordingly, one morning, the conspirators having surrounded him while riding, one of them thrust him through

through the body with a sword, and threw him from his mule upon the earth. They then laid his body upon a horse, and with all possible expedition, carried him to the house of Azena Michael, where he arrived yet alive, but died immediately upon being taken from the horse. Badjerund Oustas, and some other of his father's old officers who had attached themselves to him after his father's death, took the body of the king and buried it in Quebran.

This assassination was no sooner known, than the master of the horse, with the few troops that he could gather together, came to the palace, and took a young son of Tecla Haimanout, aged only four years, whom he proclaimed king, and the Iteghé, Malacotawit, regent of the kingdom. But Badjerund Oustas, and those who had not been concerned in the murder of either king, went straight to the mountain of Wechné, and brought thence Tifilis, that is, Theophilus, son to Hannes, and brother to the late king Yafous, whom they crowned at Emfras, and called him, by his inauguration name, Atserar Segued.

T I F I L I S.

FROM 1706 TO 1709.

THE new king, Theophilus, a few days after his coronation, having called the whole court and clergy together, declared to them, that his faith upon the disputable point concerning our Saviour's incarnation was different from that of his brother Yafous, or that of his nephew Tecla Haimanout, but in every respect conformable to that of the Monks of Gojam, followers of Abba Eustathius, and that of the Iteghé, Malacotawit, Dermin and Paulus. A violent clamour was instantly raised against the king by the priests of Debra Libanos, as having forsaken the religious principles of his predecessors. But the king was inflexible; and this ingratiated him more with the inhabitants of Gojam. Not many days after, the king arrested the master of the horse; Johannes Palambaras, the Betwudet Tigi, and several others, all supposed to be concerned in the murder, of the late king, and confined them in several places and prisons.

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This conduct of the king entirely relieved the minds of all the friends of Tecla Haimanout from any further fear of being called to account for the murder of Yafous ; and, in consequence of this, the queen Malacotawit, with her brothers Dermin, and Paulus, and all the murderers of the late king Yafous, came to Gondar that same winter, to do homage to Theophilus, whom they now thought their greatest protector. But the wise and sagacious king had kept his secret in his own bosom. All his behaviour hitherto had been only dissimulation, to induce his brother's murderers to come within his power. And no sooner did he see that he had succeeded in this, than the very first day, while they were yet at audience, he ordered an officer, in his own presence, to arrest first the queen, and then her two brothers Dermin and Paulus. He gave the same directions concerning the rest of the conspirators, who were all scattered about Gondar, eating, drinking and fearing nothing, but rejoicing at the happy days they had promised themselves, and were now to see : he ordered the whole of them, amounting to 37 persons, many of these of the first rank, to be all executed that same forenoon.

The first executed was the queen, who was taken immediately from his presence, and hanged by the common hangman on the tree before the palace gate : the first of her rank, it is believed, that ever died so vile a death, either in Abyssinia or in any other country. Dermin and Paulus were first carried to the tree to see their sister's execution ; after which, one after the other, they were thrust through with swords, the weapon with which they had wounded the late king Yafous. But the two Mahometans were shot with muskets, it having been in that manner they had ended the late king's life, after Dermin had wounded him with a sword. As they had committed high treason, none of the bodies of these traitors were allowed to be buried ; they were hewn in small pieces with knives, and strewed about the streets, to be eaten by the hyænas and dogs : a most barbarous and offensive custom, to which they strictly adhere to this very day.

Theophilus, after having thus taken ample vengeance for the murder of his brother Yafous, did not stop here. Tecla Haimanout was, it is true, a parricide, but he was likewise a

king, and his nephew; nor did it seem just to Theophilus that it should be left in the will of private subjects, after having acknowledged Tecla Haimanout as their sovereign, to choose a time afterwards, in which they were to cut him off for a crime, which, however great, had not hindered them from swearing allegiance to him at his accession, and entering into his service at the time when it was recently committed. He, therefore ordered all the regicides in custody to be put to death; and sent circular letters to the several governors, that they should observe the same rule as to all those directly concerned in the murder of his nephew Tecla Haimanout, who should be found in places under their command.

O U S T A S.

FROM 1709 TO 1714.

THE Abyssinians from a very ancient tradition, attribute the foundation of their monarchy to Menilek, son of Solomon, by the queen of Saba, or Azab, rendered in the Vulgate, the Queen of the South.

Yasous the Great, after a long and glorious reign, had been murdered by his son Tecla Haimanout. Two years after, this parricide fell in the same manner. The assassination of two princes so nearly related, and in so short a time, had involved, from different motives, the greatest part of the noble families of the kingdom, either in the crime itself, or in the suspicion of aiding and abetting it.

Tiflis, or Theophilus, brother of Yasous, upon the death of Tecla Haimanout, had been brought from the mountain, and placed on the throne as successor to his nephew; this prince was scarcely crowned when he made some very severe examples of the murderers of his brother, and he seemed privately taking informations that would have reached the whole of them, had not death put an end to his inquiries and to his justice.

The family of king Yasous was very numerous on the mountain. It was the favourite store whence both the soldiery and the citizens chose to bring their princes. There were,

at that very instant, many of his sons princes of great hopes and proper ages. Nothing then was more probable than that the prince, now to succeed, would be of that family, and, as such, interested in pursuing the same measures of vengeance on the murderers of his father and of his brother as the late king Theophilus had done; and how far, or to whom this might extend, was neither certain nor safe to trust to.

The time was now past when the nobles vied with each other, who should be the first to steal away privately, or go with open force, to take the new king from the mountain, and bring him to Gondar, his capital.

Under all these circumstances, a subject had the ambition and boldness to offer himself for king, and he was accordingly elected. This was Oustas, son of Delba Yafous, by a daughter of the late king of that name; and Abyssinia now saw for the second time, a stranger seated on the throne of Solomon. Oustas was a man of undisputed merit, and had filled the greatest offices in the state. He had been Badjerund, or master of the household, to the late king Yafous. Tecla Haimanout, who succeeded, had made him governor of Samen; and though in the next reign he had fallen into disgrace with Theophilus, this served but to aggrandize him more, as he was very soon after restored to favour, and by this very prince raised to the dignity of Ras, the first place under the king, and invested at once with the government of two provinces, Samen and Tigré. He was, at the death of Theophilus, the greatest subject in Abyssinia; one step higher set him on the throne, and the circumstances of the time invited him to take it. He had every quality of body and mind requisite for a king; but the constitution of his country had made it unlawful for him to reign. He took upon his inauguration the name of Tzai Segued.

The new king Oustas followed the customs of the ancient monarchs of Abyssinia, whose constant practice was to make a public hunting match the first expedition of their reign. On these occasions the king, attended by all the great officers of state, whose merit and capacity are already acknowledged, reviews his young nobility, who all appear to the best advantage

tage as to arms, horses, and equipage, with the greatest number of servants and attendants. The scene of this hunting is always in Kolla, crowded with an immense number of the largest and fiercest wild beasts, elephants, rhinoceros, lions, leopards, panthers, and buffaloes, fiercer than them all, wild boars, wild asses, and many varieties, of the deer kind.

As soon as the game is roused, and forced out of the wood by the footmen and dogs, they all singly, or several together, according to the size of the beast, or as strength and ability in managing their horses admit, attack the animal upon the plain with long pikes or spears, or two javelins in their hands. The king, unless very young, sits on horseback on a rising ground, surrounded by the graver sort, who point out to him the names of those of the nobility who are happy enough to distinguish themselves in his fight. Each young man brings before the king's tent, as a trophy, a part of the beast he has slain; the head and the skin of a lion or leopard, the scalp or horns of a deer, the tail of a buffalo, or the horn of a rhinoceros. The great trouble, force and time, necessary to take out the teeth of the elephant, seldom make them ready to be presented with the rest of the spoils. The head of a boar is brought stuck upon a lance; but is not touched, as being unclean.

The king's perquisites are the elephant's teeth. Of these round ivory rings are turned for bracelets, and a quantity of them always brought by him to be distributed among the most deserving in the field, and kept ever after as certificates of gallant behaviour. Nor is this mark attended with honour alone. Any man who shall from the king, queen regent, or governor of a province, receive so many of these rings as shall cover his arm down to his wrist, appears before the twelve judges on a certain day, and there, laying down his arm with these rings upon it, the king's cook breaks every one in its turn with a kind of kitchen-cleaver, whereupon the judges give him a certificate, which proves that he is entitled to a territory, whose revenue must exceed 20 ounces of gold, and this is never either refused or delayed. All the different species of game, however, are not equally rated. He that slays a Galla or Shangalla, man to man, is entitled to two rings; he that
slays

slays an elephant, to two ; a rhinoceros, two ; a giraffa, on account of its speed, and to encourage horsemanship, two ; a buffalo, two ; a lion, two ; a leopard, one ; two boars, whose tusks are grown, one ; and one for every four of the deer kind.

About the killing of these beasts great disputes constantly arise ; to determine which, and prevent feuds and quarrels, a council sits every evening, in which is an officer called *Dim-shasha*, or *Red Cap*, from a piece of red silk he wears upon his forehead, leaving the top of his head bare, for no person is allowed to cover his head entirely except the king, the twelve judges and dignified priests. This officer regulates the precedence of one nobleman over another, and is possessed of the history of all pedigrees, the noblest of which are always accounted those nearest to the king reigning.

Before the council every man pleads his own cause, and receives immediate sentence. It is a settled rule, that those who strike the animal first, if the lance remain upright, or in the same direction in which it enters the beast, are understood to be the slayers of the beast, whatever number combat with him afterwards. There is one exception, however, that if the beast, after receiving the first wound, though the lance is in him, should lay hold of a horse or man, so that it is evident he would prevail against them ; a buffalo, for example, that should toss a man with his horns, or an elephant that should take a horse with his trunk, the man who shall then slay the beast, and prevent or revenge the death of the man or horse attacked, shall be accounted the slayer of the beast and entitled to the premium. This was the ancient employment of these councils. In Mr. Bruce's time they kept up this custom in point of form ; the council sat late upon most serious affairs of the nation ; and the death, banishment, and degradation of the first men in the kingdom were agitated and determined here, under the pretence of sitting to judge the prizes of pastimes. This hunting is seldom prolonged beyond a fortnight.

From ocular inspection, the king is presumed to be able to choose among the young nobility those that are ready for taking

taking the necessary charges in the army ; and it is from his judgment in this, that the priests foretel whether his reign is to be a successful one, or to end in misfortune and disappointment.

The high country of Abyssinia is destitute of wood ; the whole lower part of the mountains is sown with different sorts of grain ; the upper part perfectly covered with grass and all sorts of verdure. There are no plains, or very small ones. Such a country, therefore, is unfit for hunting, as it is incapable of either sheltering or nourishing any number of wild beasts. The lower country, however, called Kolla, is full of wood, consequently thinly inhabited. The mountains not joined in chains or ridges, run in one upon the other, but, standing each upon its particular base, are accessible all round, and interspersed with plains. Great rivers falling from the high country with prodigious violence, during the tropical rains, have in the plains washed away the soil down to the solid rock, and formed large basons of great capacity, where, though the water becomes stagnant in pools when the currents toil above, yet from their great depth and quantity, they resist being consumed by evaporation, being also thick covered with large shady trees whose leaves never fall. These large trees, which in their growth and vegetation of their branches, exceed any thing that our imagination can figure, are as necessary for food as the pools of water are for cisterns to contain drink for those monstrous beasts, such as the elephant and rhinoceros, who there make their constant residence, and who would die with hunger and with thirst, unless they were thus copiously supplied both with food and water.

Flat as the deserts are on which this country borders, it has fat black earth for its soil. Many nations of perfect blacks inhabit the low country, all Pagans, and mortal enemies to the Abyssinian government. Hunting these miserable wretches is the next expedition undertaken by a new king. The season of this is just before the rains, while the poor savage is yet lodged under the trees, preparing his food for the approaching winter, before he retires into his caves in the mountain, where he passes that inclement season in constant confinement, but as constant security ; for these nations are all Troglodytes, and by the Abyssinians are called Shangalla. Whatever

Whatever pains Oustas took to attach himself to the nobility, a dangerous conspiracy was already forming at Gondar, by those very people who had persuaded him to mount the throne, and whom he had left at home, from a persuasion that they only were to be trusted with the support of his interest and the government in his absence. Upon the first intelligence, the king, with a chosen body of troops, entered Gondar in the night, and surprised the conspirators while actually sitting in council. Ras Hezekias, his prime minister, and Heraclides, master of his household, and five others of the principal confederates, lost their ears and noses, and were thrown into prison in such circumstances that they could not live. Benaja Basilé, one of the principal traitors, and the most obnoxious to the king, escaped for a time, having had already intelligence of Oustas's coming.

The king having quieted every thing at Gondar, being at peace with all his neighbours, and having no other way to amuse his troops, and keep them employed, set out to join the remainder of his young nobility, whom he had left in the Kolla to attack the Shangalla, who were formerly a very numerous people, divided into distinct tribes, or, as it is called, different nations, leaving each separately in distinct territories, each under the government of the chief of its own name, and each family of that name under the jurisdiction of its own chief or head.

These Shangalla, during the fair half of the year, live under the shade of trees, the lowest branches of which they cut near the stem on the upper part, and then bend or break them down, planting the ends of the branches in the earth. These branches they cover with the skins of wild beasts. After this they cut away all the small or superfluous branches in the inside, and so form a spacious pavillion, which at a distance appears like a tent, the tree serving for the pole in the middle of it, and the large top overshadowing it so as to make a very picturesque appearance. Every tree then is a house, under which live a multitude of black inhabitants until the tropical rains begin. It is then they hunt the elephant, which they kill by many various devices, as they do the rhinoceros and the other large creatures. Those who reside where
water

water abounds, with the same industry kill the hippopotami, or river-horses, which are exceedingly numerous in the pools of the stagnant rivers. Where this flat belt, or country is broadest, the trees thickest, and the water in the largest pools, there the most powerful nations live, who have often defeated the royal army of Abyssinia, and constantly laid waste, and sometimes nearly conquered, the provinces of Tigré and Shré, the most warlike and most populous part in Abyssinia.

Mr. Bruce, before he gives over the account of the Shangalla, delivers them again out of their caves, because this return includes the history of an operation never heard of perhaps in Europe. No sooner does the sun pass the zenith, going southward, than the rains instantly cease; and the thick canopy of clouds, which had obscured the sky during their continuance, being removed, the sun appears in a beautiful sky of pale blue, dappled with small thin clouds, which soon after disappear, and leave the heavens of a most beautiful azure. A very few days of the intense heat then dries the ground so perfectly, that it gapes in chasms; the grass, struck at the roots by the rays, supports itself no more, but droops and becomes parched. To clear this away, the Shangalla set fire to it, which runs with incredible violence the whole breadth of Africa, passing under the trees, and following the dry grass among the branches with such velocity as not to hurt the trees, but to occasion every leaf to fall.

A proper distance is preserved between each habitation, and round the principal watering-places; and here the Shangalla again fix their tents in the manner before described. Nothing can be more beautiful than these shady habitations; but they have this fatal effect, that they are discernible from the high grounds, and guide their enemies to the places inhabited. The country now cleared, the hunting begins, and, with the hunting the danger of the Shangalla. All the governors bordering upon the country, from the Baharnagath to the Nile on the west, are obliged to pay a certain number of slaves.

The Shangalla go all naked; they have several wives, and these very prolific. They bring forth children with the utmost ease, and never rest or confine themselves after delivery, but

but washing themselves and the child with cold water, they wrap it up in a soft cloth made of the bark of trees, and hang it upon a branch, that the large ants, with which they are infested, and the serpents, may not devour it. After a few days, when it has gathered strength, the mother carries it in the same cloth upon her back, and gives it suck with the breast, which she throws over her shoulder, this part being of such a length, as in some to reach almost to their knees.

From the constant interruptions Oustas had met with in all his hunting-matches, the divining monks had prophesied his reign was to be short, and attended with much bloodshed; nor were they for once distant from the truth; for, in the month of January, 1714, while he was overlooking the workmen building the church of Abba Antonius at Gondar, he was taken suddenly ill, and, suspecting some unwholesomeness or *witchcraft* in his palace, he ordered his tent to be pitched without the town till the apartments should be imoaked with gun powder. But this was done so carelessly by his servants, that his house was burnt to the ground, which was looked upon as a very bad omen, and made a very great impression on the minds of the people.

It was generally understood that the king was dangerously ill, and that his complaint was every day increasing. Upon this the principal officers went, according to the usual custom, to condole with and comfort him. This was at least what they pretended. Their true errand, however, was pretty well known to be an endeavour to ascertain whether the sickness was of a kind likely to continue, till measures could be adopted with a degree of certainty to take the reins of government out of his hand. The king easily divined the reason of their coming. Having had a good night, he used the strength he had thereby required to rouse himself for a moment, to put on the appearance of health, and shew himself, as usual, engaged in his ordinary dispatch of business. The seeming good countenance of the king made their condolence premature. Some excuse however, for so formal a visit, was necessary; but every apology was not safe. They adopted this, which they thought unexceptionable, that, hearing he was sick, which they happily found he was not, they came to

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propose

propose to him a thing equally proper whether he was sick or well ; that he would in time settle his succession upon his son Fasil, then in the mountain of Wechné, as a means of a quieting the minds of his friends, preventing bloodshed, and securing the crown to his family. Oustas did the utmost to command himself upon this occasion, and to give them an answer such as suited a man in health who hoped to live many years. But it was now too late to play such a part ; and in spite of his utmost dissimulation, evident signs of decay appeared upon him.

On the 10th day of February Oustas died, but whether of a violent or natural death is not known. Posterity regarding his merit more than his title, have, however, kept his name still among the list of kings ; and tradition, doing him more justice still than history, has ranked him among the best that ever reigned in Abyssinia.

DAVID IV.

FROM 1714 TO 1719.

DAVID immediately upon his accession, appointed Tit-Auraris Agré, Ozoro Kaduste's brother, his Betwudet, and Abra Hezekias his master of the household, and was proceeding to fill up the inferior posts of government, when he was interrupted by the clamours of a multitude of monks, demanding a convocation of the clergy. David was a rigid adherent to the church of Alexandria, and educated by his mother in the tenets of the monks of Saint Eustathius, that is, the most declared enemies of every thing approachiag to the tenets of the church of Rome. He was, consequently, not by inclination, neither was he by duty obliged to undertake the defence of measures adopted by Oustas, of which he was besides ignorant, having been confined in the mountain of Wechné. He ordered, therefore, the missionaries, and their interpreter, whose name was Abba Gregorius, to be apprehended. These unfortunate people were accordingly produced before the most prejudiced and partial of all tribunals. The trial neither was nor intended to be long. The first question was put a very direct one ; " Do you, or do you not receive the council.

cil of Chalcedon as a rule of faith? and, Do you believe that Leo the pope lawfully and regularly presided at it, and conducted it?" to this the prisoners plainly answered, "That they looked upon the council of Chalcedon as the fourth general council, and received it as such, and as a rule of faith; that they did believe pope Leo lawfully and regularly presided at it, as being head of the Catholic church, successor to St. Peter, and Christ's vicar upon earth." Upon this a general shout was heard from the whole assembly; and the fatal cry, "Stone them.—Whoever throws not three stones, he is accursed, and an enemy to Mary," immediately followed.

One priest only, distinguished for piety and learning among his countrymen, and one of the chief men in the assembly, with great vehemence, declared they were tried partially and unfairly, and condemned unjustly. But his voice was not heard amidst the clamours of such a multitude; and the monks were accordingly by the judges condemned to die. Ropes were instantly thrown about their necks, and they were dragged to a place behind the church Abbo, in their way to Tedda, where they were, according to their sentence, stoned to death, suffering with patience and resignation equal to the first martyrs.

Conspiracies against the king, owing to his having massacred many monks, were every where openly talked of, the fruits of which soon appeared. David fell sick, and those about him endeavoured to persuade him, that it was the remains of an injury which he had lately received from a fall off his horse. But, upon the meeting of the council on the 9th of March 1719, it was discovered and proved, that Kasmati Laté and Ras Georgis had employed Kutcho, keeper of the palace, to give a strong poison to the king, which he had taken that morning from the hands of a mahometan. Ras Georgis was then brought before the council, and scarcely denied the fact; upon which his only son was ordered to be hewn to pieces before his face, and immediately after the father's eyes were pulled out. Kutcho, keeper of the palace, and the Mahometan who gave the poison, were hewn to pieces with swords before the gate of the palace, and their mangled bodies thrown to the dogs. The king died that evening in great agony.

BACUFFA.

B A C U F F A.

FROM 1719 TO 1729.

BACUFFA, who now succeeded to the throne, was exceedingly fond of divinations, dreams, and prophécies, so are all the Abyssinians; but he imbibed an additional propensity to these among the Pagans to whom he had fled. One day when walking alone, he perceived a priest exceedingly attentive in observing the forms that little pieces of straw, cut to certain lengths, made upon a pool of water, into which ran a small stream. From the combination of these in letters, or figures, as they chanced to fall, an answer is procured to the doubt proposed, which, if you believe these idlers, is perfectly infallible.

The new king in disguise, dressed like a poor man, is said to have asked the priest after what he was inquiring. The priest answered, he was trying whether the king would have a son, and who should govern the kingdom after him. The king abode the investigation patiently; and the answer was, that he should have a son; but that a Walleta Georgis should govern the kingdom after him for thirty years, though that Walleta Georgis should be neither his son nor any descendant of his. Full of thought at this untoward prediction, he harboured it in his breast without communicating it to any one, and resolved to blast the hopes of every Walleta Georgis that should be so unfortunate as to stand within the possibility of reigning after him. Many innocent people of different parts disappeared from this unknown crime; and eleven princes on the mountain of Wechné, some say more, lost their lives for a name that is very common in Abyssinia, without one overt act of treason, or even a suspicion of what they were accused. A panic now struck all ranks of people, without terminating in any scheme of resistance; which sufficiently shewed that the king had succeeded in dissolving all confederacies among his subjects, and destroying radically that rebellious spirit which had operated so fatally in the last reigns.

Among the kings of Abyssinia, it is a custom, especially in intervals

intervals of peace, to disappear for a time, without any warning. Sometimes, indeed, one or two confidential servants, pretending to be busied in other affairs, attend at a distance and keep their eye upon him, while disguised in different manners, he goes like a stranger to those parts he intends to visit. In one of these private journeys, passing into Kuara, a province on the N. E. of Abyssinia, near the confines of Senaar, Bacuffa happened, or counterfeited, to be seized by a fever, a common disease of that unwholesome country. He was then in a poor village belonging to servants of a man of distinction, whose house was on the top of the hill immediately above, in temperate and wholesome air. The hospitable landlord, upon the first hearing of the distress of a stranger, immediately removed him up to his house, where every attention that could be suggested by a charitable mind was bestowed upon his diseased guest, who presently recovered his former state of health, but not till the kind assistance and unwearied diligence of the beautiful daughter of the house had made a deep impression upon him and laid him under the greatest obligations.

The family consisted of five young men in the flower of their youth, and one daughter, whose name was Berhan Magas, *the Glory of Grace*, exceedingly beautiful, gentle, mild, and affable; of great understanding, and prudence beyond her age; the darling, not only of her own family, but of all the neighbourhood. Bacuffa recovering his health, returned speedily to the palace, which he entered privately at night, and appeared early next morning sitting in judgment, and hearing causes, which, with these princes, is the first public occupation of the day.

A messenger, with guards and attendants, was immediately sent to Kuara, and Berhan Magas hurried from her father's house, she knew not why; but her surprise was carried to the utmost, by being presented and married to the king, no reply, no condition or stipulation being suffered. She gained, however, and preserved his confidence as long as he lived; not that Bacuffa valued himself upon constancy to one wife, more than the rest of his predecessors had done. He had, indeed, many mistresses, but with these he observed a very singular rule; he never

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took to his bed any one woman whatever, the fair Berhan Magass excepted, without her having been first so far intoxicated with wine or spirits, as not to remember any thing that passed in conversation.

After he had created his wife Iteghè, Bacuffa pretended to be sick; several days passed without hopes of recovery; but at last the news of the king's death was published in Gondar. The joy was so great and so universal, that nobody attempted to conceal it. Every one found himself eased of a load of fear which had become insupportable. Several princes escaped from the mountain of Wechné to put themselves in the way of being chosen; some were sent to by those great men who thought themselves capable of effecting the nomination, and a speedy day was appointed for the burial of the king's corpse, when Bacuffa appeared, in the ordinary seat of justice early in the morning of that day, with the Iteghè, and the infant Yafous, his son sitting in a chair below him. There was no occasion to accuse the guilty. The whole court, and all strangers attending there upon business, fled and spread an universal terror through the whole streets of Gondar. All ranks of people were driven to despair, for all had rejoiced, and much less crimes had been before punished with death. What this sedition would have ended in, it is hard to know, had it not been for the immediate resolution of the king, who ordered a general pardon and amnesty to be proclaimed at the door of the palace.

Two kettle-drums of a large size are constantly placed one on each side of the outer gate of the king's house. They are called the *Lion* and the *Lamb*. The lion is beat at the proclamations which regard war, attainders for conspiracies and rebellions, promotions to supreme commands, and such like high matters. The Lamb is heard only on beneficent, pacific occasions, or gifts from the crown, of general amnesties, of private pardons, and reversals of penal ordinances. The whole town was in expectation of some sanguine decree, when, to their utter surprise, they heard the voice of the lamb, a certain sign of peace and forgiveness; and speedily followed by a proclamation, forbidding people of all degrees to leave their houses, that the king's word was pledged for every

every one's security; and that all the principal men should immediately attend him within the palace, in a public place which is called the Ashoa, and that upon pain of rebellion.

The king appeared clothed all in white, being the habit of peace; his head was bare, dressed, annointed, and perfumed, and his face uncovered. He thus advanced to the rail of the gallery, about ten feet above the heads of the audience, and in a very graceful, composed, but resolute manner, began a short oration to the people. He put them in mind of their wantonness in having made Oustas, a man not of the royal line of Solomon, king of Abylinia; of their having incited his brother, Tecla Haimanout, to assassinate their father Yafous; that they had afterwards murdered Tecla Haimanout himself, one brother, and lately his other brother David, his own immediate predecessor: That he had taken due vengeance upon all the ringleaders of those crimes, as was the duty of his place, and, if much blood had been shed, it was because many enormities had been committed; but that knowing now that order was established, and conspiracies extinguished among them, he had counterfeited death, to signify an end was put to Bacuffa and his bloody measures; that he was now risen again, and appeared to them by the name of Atzham Georgis, son of Yafous the Great; and ordered every man home to his house to rejoice at the accession of a new king, under whom they should have justice, and live without fear, as long as they respected the king that God had annointed over them.

The loudest acclamations followed this speech. "Long live Bacuffa! Long live Atzham Georgis!" It was well known that this king never failed in his word, or any way prevaricated in his promises. Every one, therefore, went home in as perfect peace as if war had never been among them; and Bacuffa's delicacy in this respect was seen a few days after; for Hannes his brother having been brought clandestinely from Wechné, by Kesmari Georgis, a nobleman of great consequence, they were both taken by the governor of Wechné, and sent in chains to the king. The ordinary process would have been to put them instantly to death, as being apprehended

apprehended in the very highest act of treason; nor would this have alarmed any person whatever, or been thought an infraction of the king's late promise. Bacuffa, however, was of another mind. He sent the criminal judges, who ordinarily sit upon capital crimes, to meet the two prisoners in their way to Gondar, and carried them back to the foot of the mountain of Wechné to have their crimes proved, and to be tried there out of his presence and influence, where they were both condemned, Hannes to have an arm cut off, Georgis to be sent to prison to the governor of Walkayt, with private orders to put him to death; both of which sentences were executed, though Hannes so far recovered that he was king of Abyssinia in Mr. Bruce's time, notwithstanding this mutilation.

The king died after a vigorous reign, and after having cut off the greatest part of the ancient nobility near Gondar, who were of age to have been concerned in the transactions of the last reigns. This has rendered his memory odious, though it is universally confessed he saved his country from an aristocratical or democratical usurpation; both equally unconstitutional, as they equally struck at the root of monarchy.

YASOUS II. or ADIAM SEGUED.

FROM 1729 TO 1753.

The new king, Yasous II. when arrived at the 7th year of his reign, proclaimed a general hunt, which is a declaration of his near approach to manhood; but he pursued it no length of time, and again returned to Gondar.

On the 23d day of December, Yasous again set out on another hunting party, and killed two elephant's and a rhinoceros. He then proceeded to Tehelga, and from Tehelga to Wal-dubba; thence he went to the rivers Gandova Shimfa. Here he exercised himself at a very violent species of hunting, that of forcing the gieratacahin, which means long tail; it is otherwise called giraffa in arabic. It is the tallest of beasts, and is often killed by the elephant hunters. Its skin is beautifully
variegated

variegated when young, but turns brown when arrived at any age. It was not with a view to hunt only, that Yafous made these frequent excursions towards the frontiers of Sennaar. His resolution was formed (as it appeared soon after) in imitation of his forefather Socinios, to revive his right over the country of the *Shepherds*, his ancient vassals, who, since the accession of strength, by uniting with the Arabs, had forgot their ancient tribute and subjection.

This year, 1736, there happened a total eclipse of the sun, which very much affected the minds of the weaker sort of people. The dreamers and the prophets were every where let loose, full of the lying spirit which possessed them, to foretell that the death of the king, and the downfall of his government were at hand, and deluges of civil blood were then speedily to be spilt both in the capital and provinces. There was not, indeed, at the time, any circumstance that warranted such a prediction, or any thing likely to be more fatal to the state, than the expenditure of the large sums of money that the turn the king had taken subjected him to. He had built a large and very costly church at Koscam, and he was still engaged in a more extensive work in the building of a palace at Gondar, besides a variety of other expensive undertakings.

In the 24th year of Yafous' reign, he was taken ill, and died on the 21st day of June, 1753, after a very short illness. As he was but a young man, and of a strong constitution, there was some suspicion he died by poison given him by the queen's relations, who were desirous to secure another minority rather than serve under a king, who, by every action shewed he was no longer to be led or governed by any, but least of all by them. Yafous was married very young to a lady of noble family in Amhara, by whom he had two sons, Adigo and Aylo. But their mother pretending to a share of her husband's government, and to introduce her friends at court, so hurt Weletta Georgis the Iteghé, or queen regent, that she prevailed on the king to banish both the mother and sons to the mountain of Wechné.

In order to prevent such interference for the future, the Iteghé took a step, such as had never before been attempted
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in Abyssinia. It was to bring a wife to Yafous from a race of Galla. Her name was Wobit, daughter of Amirzo, to whom Bacuffa had once fled when he escaped from the mountain before he was king, and had been kindly entertained there. Her family was of the tribe of Edjow, and the division of Toluma, that is, of the southern Galla upon the frontiers of Amhara. They were esteemed the politest, that is, the least barbarous of the name. But it was no matter, they were Galla, and that was enough. Between them an Abyssinia, oceans of blood had been shed, and strong prejudices imbibed against them, never to be effaced by marriages. She was, however, brought to Gondar, christened by the name of Bessabée and married to Yafous: By her he had a son, named Joas, who succeeded his father.

JOAS.

FROM 1753 TO 1768.

AS soon as the death of King Yafous was known, the old officers and servants of the crown, remembering the tumults and confusion that happened in Gondar at his accession, repaired to the palace from their different governments, each with a small well regulated body of troops, sufficient to keep order, and strengthen the hands of Ras Welled de l'Oul, whom they all looked upon as the father of his country. The first who arrived was Kasmati Waragna of Damot; then Ayo of Begemder, and very soon after, though at much the greatest distance, Subul Michael, governor of Tigre. These three entered the palace, with Welled de Joas, who, after a troublesome reign, was assassinated in his palace, and buried in the church of St. Raphael.

FINNES

HANNES II.

1769.

HANNES, a man upwards of seventy years of age, made his entry into Gondar the 3d of May 1769. He was brother to Bacuffa, and having in his time escaped from the mountain, and being afterwards taken, his hand was cut off by order of the king his brother, and he was sent back to the place of his confinement. It is a law of Abyssinia, derived from that of Moses, that no man can be capable either of the throne or priesthood, unless he be perfect in all his limbs; the want of a hand, therefore, certainly disqualified Hannes, and it was with that intent it had been cut off; but this objection was easily over-ruled. However, besides his age, he was very feeble in body; and having had no conversation but with monks, and priests, this had debilitated his mind as much as age had done his body. He could not be persuaded to take any share in the government, and when he was desired to take the field to defend his kingdom, he wept, hid himself, turned monk, and demanded to be sent back to his former place of confinement. The consequence was, that he was one day poisoned at his breakfast.

TECLA HAIMANOUT II.

1769.

TECLA HAIMANOUT succeeded his father. Hewas a prince of a most graceful figure, tall for his age, rather thin, and of the whitest shade of Abyssinian colour, such are all those princes that are born in the mountain. Though he had been absent but a very few months from his native mountain, his manners and carriage were those of a prince, that from his infancy had sat upon an hereditary throne. He had an excellent understanding, and prudence beyond his years. He was said to be naturally of a very warm temper, but
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this he had so perfectly subdued as scarcely ever to have given an instance of it in public.

With the beginning of this king's reign, we shall close the Annals of Abyssinia, and return to Mr. Bruce at Masuah, after which we shall accompany him from thence in his journey to Gondar.

TRAVELS



TRAVELS

TO DISCOVER THE SOURCE OF THE NILE.

BOOK V.

ACCOUNT OF MR. BRUCE'S JOURNEY FROM MASUAH TO
GONDAR—TRANSACTIONS THERE—MANNERS AND
CUSTOMS OF THE ABYSSINIANS.

MASUAH, or the harbour of the Shepherds, is a small island on the Abyssinian shore, having an excellent harbour, and water deep enough for ships of any size to the very edge of the island: here they may ride in the utmost security, from whatever point, or with whatever degree of strength, the wind blows. The island itself is very small, scarce three quarters of a mile in length, and about half that in breadth; one third occupied by houses, one by cisterns to receive the rain-water, and the last is reserved for burying the dead.

This island was a place of much resort as long as commerce flourished; but it fell into obscurity very suddenly, under the oppression of the Turks, who put the finishing hand to the ruin of the India trade in the Red Sea, begun some years before by the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and the settlements made by the Portuguese on the continent of India.

On the 19th of September 1769, our traveller arrived at Masuah, very much tired of the sea, and desirous to land. But, as it was evening, he thought it advisable to sleep on board that night, that he might have a whole day (as the first is always a busy one) before him, and receive in the night any intelligence from friends, who might not choose to venture to come openly to see him and his company in the day, at least before the determination of the Naybe, the governor of that place, had been heard concerning them.

On the 20th, a person came from Mahomet Gibberti to conduct Mr. Bruce on shore. The Naybe himself was still at Arkeeko, and Achmet, his cousin and successor, therefore, had come down to receive the duties of the merchandize on board the vessel which brought Mr. Bruce. There were two elbow-chairs placed in the middle of the market-place. Achmet sat on one of them, while the several officers opened the bales and packages before him: the other chair on his left hand was empty. He was dressed all in white, in a long Banian habit of muslin, and a close-bodied frock reaching to his ankles, much like the white frock and petticoat the young children wear in England. This species of dress did not, in any way, suit Achmet's shape or size; but, it seems, he meant to be in gala. As soon as Mr. Bruce came in sight of him, our traveller doubled his pace: Mahomet Gibberti's servant whispered to Mr. Bruce not to kiss his hand, which indeed he intended to have done. Achmet stood up, just as he arrived within arm's length of him; when they touched each others hands, carried their fingers to their lips, then laid their hands across their breasts: Mr. Bruce pronounced the salutation of the inferior *Salam Alicum!* Peace be between us; to which he answered immediately, *Alicum Salam!* There is peace between us. He pointed to the chair, which Mr. Bruce declined; but he obliged him to sit down.

In these countries, the greater honour that is shown you at first meeting, the more considerable present is expected. He made a sign to bring coffee directly, as the immediate offering of meat or drink is an assurance your life is not in danger.

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He began with an air that seemed rather serious; "We have expected you here some time ago, but thought you had changed your mind and was gone to India."—"Since sailing from Jidda, I have been in Arabia Felix, the Gulf of Mocha, and crossed last from Loheia."—"Are you not afraid (said he) so thinly attended, to venture upon these long and dangerous voyages?"—"The countries where I have been are either subject to the emperor of Constantinople, whose firman I have now the honour to present you, or to the regency of Cairo, and port of Janissaries—here are their letters—or to the sherriffe of Mecca. To you, Sir, I present the sherriffe's letters; and, besides these, one from Metical Aga, your friend, who, depending on your character, assured me this alone would be sufficient to preserve me from ill usage so long as I did no wrong: as for the dangers of the road from banditti and lawless persons, my servants are indeed few, but they are veteran soldiers, tried and exercised from their infancy in arms, and I value not the superior number of cowardly and disorderly persons."

He then returned Mr. Bruce the letters, saying, "you will give these to the Naybe to-morrow; I will keep Metical's letter, as it is to me, and will read it at home." He put it accordingly in his bosom; and their coffee being done, Mr. Bruce rose to take his leave, and was presently wet to the skin by deluges of orange flower-water showered upon him from the right and left, by two of his attendants, from silver bottles.

A very decent house had been provided; and he had no sooner entered than a large dinner was sent them by Achmet, with a profusion of lemons, and good fresh water, now become one of the greatest delicacies in life; and, instantly after, their baggage was all sent unopened; with which he was very well pleased, being afraid they might break something in his clock, telescopes, or quadrant, by the violent manner in which they satisfy their curiosity.

Late in the evening, Mr. Bruce had a visit of Achmet, and another conversation passed between them. Achmet wished to be more particularly informed concerning Mr. Bruce's character

character and views; Mr. Bruce answered his inquiries in a satisfactory manner, and offered him a present of a pair of pistols. Achmet declined accepting them then, but promised to send a person with proper tokens to receive them.

On the 20th of September, a female slave came and brought with her the proper credentials, an Indian handkerchief full of dry dates, and a pot or bottle of unvarnished potter's earth, which keeps the water very cool.

On the 21st, in the morning, the Naybe came from Arkeeko. The usual way is by sea: it is about two leagues straight across the bay, but somewhat more by land. The passage from the main is on the north side of the island, which is not above a quarter of a mile broad; there is a large cistern for rain water on the land side, where you embark across. He was poorly attended by three or four servants, miserably mounted, and about forty naked savages on foot, armed with short lances and crooked knives. The drum beat before him all the way from Arkeeko to Masuah. Upon entering the boat, the drum on the land side ceased, and those in what is called the Castle of Masuah, began. The castle is a small clay hut, and in it one swivel-gun, which is not mounted, but lies upon the ground, and is fired always with great trepidation and some danger. The drums are earthen jars, such as they send butter in to Arabia, the mouths of which are covered with a skin; so that a stranger, on seeing two or three of these together, would run a great risk of believing them to be jars of butter, or pickles, carefully covered with oiled parchment. All the procession was in the same stile. The Naybe was dressed in an old shabby Turkish habit, much too short for him, and seemed to have been made about the time of Sultan Selin. He wore also upon his head a Turkish cowke, or high cape, which scarcely admitted any part of his head. In this dress, which on him had a truly ridiculous appearance, he received the castan, or investiture, of the island of Masuah; and being thereby representative of the Grand Signior, consented that day to be called Omar Aga, in honour of the commission.

In the afternoon, Mr. Bruce went to pay his respects to the Naybe, and found him sitting on a large wooden elbow chair, at the head of two files of naked savages, who made an avenue from his chair to the door. He had nothing upon him but a coarse cotton shirt, so dirty, that it seemed all pains to clean it again would be thrown away, and so short that it scarcely reached his knees. He was very tall and lean, his colour black, had a large mouth and nose; in place of a beard, a very scanty tuft of grey hairs upon the point of his chin; large, dull and heavy eyes; a kind of malicious contemptuous smile on his countenance; he was altogether of a most stupid, and brutal appearance. His character perfectly corresponded with his figure, for he was a man of mean abilities, cruel to excess, avaricious, and a great drunkard.

Mr. Bruce presented his firman. The greatest basha in the Turkish empire would have risen upon seeing it, kissed it, and carried it to his forehead; but he did not even receive it into his hand, and pushed it back to our traveller again, saying, "Do you read it all to me, word for word." Mr. Bruce told him it was Turkish; and that he had never learned to read a word of that language. "Nor I neither," says he; "and I believe I never shall." Mr. Bruce then gave him the other letters he had brought with him. He took them all together in both his hands, and laid them unopened beside him, saying, "You should have brought a moullah along with you. Do you think I shall read all these letters? Why, it would take me a month." He then glared upon our traveller with his mouth open, so like an idiot, that it was with the utmost difficulty Mr. Bruce kept his gravity, only answering, "Just as you please; you know best."

A silence followed this short conversation, and Mr. Bruce took the opportunity to give him his present, with which he did not seem displeased, but rather that it was below him to tell him so. He then took his leave of the Naybe, very little pleased with his reception, and the small account he seemed to make of his letters, or of himself.

The small-pox was raging with such violence at Masuah, that it was feared the living would not be sufficient to bury the dead. The whole island was filled with shrieks and lamentations both night and day. They at last began to throw the bodies into the sea, which deprived our travellers of the fish, of which they had ate some kinds that were excellent. Mr. Bruce had suppressed his character of physician, fearing he should be detained by reason of the multitude of sick.

The Naybe came to Masuah on the 15th of October, dispatched the vessel that brought our travellers over; and as if he had only waited till this evidence was out of the way, he that very night, sent word, that Mr. Bruce was to prepare him a handsome present. He gave in a long list of particulars to a great amount, which he desired might be divided into three parcels, and presented three several days. One was to be given him as Naybe of Arkeeko; one as Omar Aga, representative of the Grand Signior; and one for having passed their baggage *gratis* and unvisited, especially the large quadrant.

As the assurance of protection Mr. Bruce had received, gave him courage, he answered him, That having a firman of the Grand Signior, and letters from Metical Aga, it was mere generosity should he give him any present at all, either as Naybe or Omar Aga; that he was not a merchant that bought and sold, nor had merchandize on board, therefore had no customs to pay. Upon this he sent for Mr. Bruce to his house, where he found him in a violent fury, and many useless words passed on both sides. At last he peremptorily told our traveller, That unless he had three hundred ounces of gold ready to pay him on Monday, upon his landing from Arkeeko, he would confine him in a dungeon, without light, air, or meat, till the bones came through his skin for want.

On the 29th of October, the Naybe came again from Arkeeko to Masuah, and Mr. Bruce was told in a very ill humour with him. He soon received a message to attend him, and found him in a large waste room like a barn, with about sixty people with him. This was his divan, or grand council, with all his janissaries and officers of state; all naked, assembled

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in parliament. There was a comet that had appeared a few days after their arrival at Masuah, which had been many days visible in Arabia Felix, being then in its perihelion ; and, after passing its conjunction with the sun, it now appeared at Masuah early in the evening, receding to its aphelion. Mr. Bruce had been observed watching it with great attention, and the large tubes of the telescopes had given offence to ignorant people. The first question the Naybe asked him was, "What that comet meant, and why it appeared?" And before he could answer him, he again said, "The first time it was visible, it brought the small-pox, which has killed above 1000 people at Masuah and Arkeeko. It is known you converted with it every night at Loheia ; it has now followed you again, to finish the few that remain, and then you are to carry it into Abyssinia. What have you to do with the comet?"

Without giving Mr. Bruce leave to speak, his brother Emir Achmet then said, "That he was informed our traveller was an engineer going to Michael, governor of Tigre, to teach the Abyssinians to make cannon and gun-powder : that the first attack was to be against Masuah." Five or six others spoke much in the same strain ; and the Naybe concluded by saying, That he would send Mr. Bruce in chains to Constantinople, unless he went to Hamazen, with his brother Emir Achmet, to the hot-wells there, and that this was the resolution of all the janissaries ; for he had concealed his being a physician.

After much altercation between Mr. Bruce and the Naybe, the former turned his back, and Mr. Bruce went away exceedingly disturbed, as it was plain his affairs were coming to a crisis for good or for evil. He observed, or thought he observed, all the people shunned him. He was, indeed, upon his guard, and did not wish them to come near him ; but, turning down into his own gateway, a man passed close by him, saying distinctly in his ear, though in a low voice, first in Tigre and then in Arabic, "*Fear nothing*," or, "Be not afraid." This hint, short as it was, gave him no small courage.

Upon the 6th in the morning, while at breakfast, Mr. Bruce was told, that three servants had arrived from Tigre ; one from

from Janni, a young man and slave, who spoke and wrote Greek perfectly; the other two servants were Ras Michael's, or rather the king's, both wearing the red short cloak, lined and turned up with mazarine blue, which is the badge of the king's servant, and is called *shalaka*. Ras Michael's letters to the Naybe were very short. He said the king Hatze Hannes's health was bad, and wondered at hearing that the physician sent to him by Metical Aga from Arabia, was not forwarded to him instantly at Gondar, as he had heard of his being arrived at Masuah some time before. He ordered the Naybe, moreover, to furnish him with necessaries, and dispatch him without loss of time.*

Masuah, by a great variety of observations of the sun and stars, was found to be in lat. $15^{\circ} 35' 5''$, and, by an observation of the second satellite of Jupiter, on the 22d of September 1769, its longitude was found to be $39^{\circ} 36' 30''$ east of the meridian of Greenwich.

The island of Masuah is very unwholesome, as indeed is the whole coast of the Red Sea, from Suez to Babelmandeb, but more especially between the tropics. Violent fevers, called there *nedad*, make the principal figure in this fatal list, and generally terminate the third day in death. If the patient survives till the fifth day, he very often recovers by drinking water only, and throwing a quantity of cold water upon him, even in his bed, where he is permitted to lay without attempting to make him dry, or change his bed, till another deluge adds to the first.

The bark is the most sovereign remedy here; but it must be given in very different times and manners from those pursued

* Most of the Europeans who have visited Abyssinia by way of Masuah, have been cruelly pillaged there. Father Lobo, with his companions, whom our traveller regards with no favorable eye, were still more hardly dealt with than Mr. Bruce: The Jesuit, returning from Abyssinia by Masuah, was stripped by the governor of all he had. His servant was taken from him, and he threatened with severe bastinado, unless he purchased his servant back with 60 piastrs. When Lobo and his companions proceeded from Masuah to Suaquem, the Basna threatened to put them to death, if they could not purchase their safety at least with 15,000 crowns. The demand was at length abated to 4300l. but three of the company were detained in custody.

in Europe. Were a physician to take time to prepare his patient for the bark, by first giving him purgatives, he would be dead of the fever before his preparation was completed. The second or third dose of the bark, if any quantity is swallowed, never fails to purge; and if this evacuation is copious, the patient rarely dies, but, on the contrary, his recovery is generally rapid. Moderate purging is for the most part to be adopted, and rice is a much better food than fruit.

The next common disease in the low country of Arabia, the intermediate island of Masuah, and all Abyssinia, (for the diseases are exactly similar in all this tract), is the Tertian fever, which is in nothing different from our Tertian, and is successfully treated here in the same manner as in Europe. As no species of this disease, as far as Mr. Bruce saw, menaces the patient with death, especially in the beginning of the disorder, some time may be allowed for preparation to those who doubt the effect of the bark in this country. But still he apprehends the safest way is, to give small doses from the beginning, on the first intermission, or even remission, though this should be somewhat obscure and uncertain.

The next disease, which we may say is endemial in the countries before mentioned, is called *hanzeer*, the *hogs* or the *swine*, and is a swelling of the glands of the throat, and under the arms. This the ignorant inhabitants endeavour to bring to a suppuration, but in vain: They then open them in several places; a sore and running follows, and a disease very much resembling what is called in Europe the Evil.

The next (though not a dangerous complaint) has a very terrible appearance. Small tubercles or swellings appear all over the body, but thickest in the thighs, arms, and legs. These swellings go and come for weeks together without pain; though the legs often swell to a monstrous size as in the dropy.

All the nations in Africa within the tropics are wonderfully affected at the smallest eruption or roughness of the skin. A black of Sennaar will hide himself in the house where dark, and is not to be seen by his friends, if he should have two or three

three pimples on any part of his body. Nor is there any remedy, however violent, that they will not fly to for immediate relief.

The next complaint Mr. Bruce mentions, as common in these countries, is called *Farenteit*, a corruption of an Arabic word, which signifies the worm of Pharaoh; all bad things being by the Arabs attributed to these poor kings, who seem to be looked upon by posterity as the evil genii of the country which they once governed.

This extraordinary animal only afflicts those who are in constant habit of drinking stagnant water, whether that water is drawn out from wells as in the kingdom of Sennaar, or found by digging in the sand, where it is making its way to its proper level the sea, after falling down the side of the mountains after the tropical rains. This plague appears indiscriminately in every part of the body, but oftener in the legs and arms. Upon looking at this worm, on its first appearance, a small black head is extremely visible, with a hooked beak of a whitish colour. Its body is seemingly of a white silky texture, very like a small tendon bared and perfectly cleaned. After its appearance, the natives of these countries, who are used to it, seize it gently by the head, and wrap it round a thin piece of silk or small bird's feather. Every day, or several times a day, they try to wind it up upon the quill as far as it comes readily; and, upon the smallest resistance, they give over for fear of breaking it. Mr. Bruce has seen five feet, or something more, of this extraordinary animal, wound out with invincible patience in the course of three weeks. No inflammation then remained, and scarcely any redness round the edges of the aperture, only a small quantity of lymph appeared in the hole or puncture, which scarcely issued out upon pressing. In three days it was commonly well.

Mr. Bruce himself experienced this complaint. He was reading upon a sofa at Cairo, a few days after his return from Upper Egypt, when he felt in the fore part of his leg, upon the bone, about seven inches below the centre of his knee-pan,

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an itching resembling what follows the bite of a muscheto. Upon scratching, a small tumour appeared very like a muscheto-bite. The itching returned in about an hour afterwards; and being more intent upon his reading than his leg, he scratched it till the blood came. He soon after observed something like a black spot, which had already risen considerably above the surface of the skin. All medicine proved useless; and the disease not being known at Cairo, there was nothing for it but to have recourse to the only received manner of treating it in this country. About three inches of the worm was wound out upon a piece of raw silk in the first week, without pain or fever; but it was broken afterwards through the carelessness and rashness of the surgeon, when changing a poultice on board the ship in which he returned to France: a violent inflammation followed; the leg swelled so as scarce to leave the appearance of knee or ankle; the skin, red and distended, seemed glazed like a mirror. The wound was now healed, and discharged nothing: and there was every appearance of mortification coming on. The great care and attention procured him in the lazaretto at Marseilles, by a nation always foremost in the acts of humanity to strangers, and the attention and skill of the surgeon, recovered him from this troublesome complaint.

Fifty-two days had elapsed since it first begun; thirty-five of which were spent in the greatest agony. It suppurated at last; and by enlarging the orifice, a good quantity of matter was discharged. He had made constant use of bark, both in fomentations and inwardly; but he did not recover the strength of his leg entirely till near a year after, by using the baths of Poretta.

The last Mr. Bruce mentions of those endemial diseases, and the most terrible of all others that can fall to the lot of man, is the Elephantiasis, which some have chosen to call the leprosy, or *Lepros Arabum*; though in its appearance, and in all its circumstances and stages, it no more resembles the leprosy of Palestine, than it does the gout or dropsy. During the course of it, the face is often healthy to appearance; the eyes vivid and sparkling: Those affected have sometimes a kind of dryness upon the skin of their backs, which, upon scratching, leaves

leaves a mealiness, or whiteness; the only circumstance in which it resembles the leprosy; but it has no scaliness. The hair too, is of its natural colour; not white, yellowish, or thin, as in the leprosy, but so far from it, that though the Abyssinians have very rarely hair upon their chin, Mr. Bruce has seen people, apparently in the last stage of the elephantiasis, with a very good beard of its natural colour. The appetite is generally good during this disease, nor does any change of regimen affect the complaint.

Mr. Bruce's first general advice to a traveller is this; to remember well what the state of his constitution was before he visited these countries, and what his complaints were, if he had any; for fear very frequently seizes us upon the first sight of the many and sudden deaths we see upon our first arrival, and our spirits are so lowered by perpetual perspiration, and our nerves so relaxed, that we are apt to mistake the ordinary symptoms of a disease, familiar to us in our own country, for the approach of one of these terrible distempers that are to hurry us in a few hours into eternity. This has a bad effect in the very slightest disorders; so that it hath become proverbial, "if you think you shall die, you shall die." If a traveller finds that he is as well after having been some time in this country, as he was before entering it, his best way is to make no innovation in his regimen, further than in abating something in the quantity. But if he is of a tender constitution, he cannot act more wisely than to follow implicitly the regimen of sober, healthy people of the country, without arguing upon European notions, or substituting what we consider as succedaneums to what we see used on the spot. All spirits are to be avoided; even bark is better in water than in wine. The stomach being relaxed by profuse perspiration, needs something to strengthen, but not inflame, and enable it to perform digestion. For this reason (instinct we should call it, if speaking of beasts) the natives of all eastern countries season every species of food, even the simplest and mildest rice, so much with spices, especially pepper, as absolutely to blister an European palate. These powerful antiseptics Providence has planted in these countries for this use; and the natives have, from the earliest times, had recourse to them in proportion to the quantity they can procure.

Mr. Bruce

Mr. Bruce lays down this as a positive rule of health, that the warmest dishes the natives delight in, are the most wholesome strangers can use in the putrid climates of the Lower Arabia, Abyssinia, Sennaar, and Egypt itself; and that spirits, and all fermented liquors, should be regarded as poisons; and, for fear of temptation, not so much as be carried along with you, unless as a menstruum for outward applications. Spring, or running water, if you can find it, is to be your only drink. You cannot be too nice in procuring this article. But as, on both coasts of the Red Sea, you scarcely find any but stagnant water, the way our traveler practised was always this: when he was at any place that allowed him time and opportunity, he took a quantity of fine sand, washed it from the salt quality with which it was impregnated, and spread it upon a sheet to dry; he then filled an oil-jar with water, and poured into it as much from a boiling kettle as would serve to kill all the animalcula and eggs that were in it. He then sifted his dried sand, as slowly as possible, upon the surface of the water in the jar, till the sand stood half a foot in the bottom of it; after letting it settle a night, he drew it off by a hole in the jar with a spigot in it, about an inch above the sand; then threw the remaining sand out upon the cloth, and dried and washed it again.

This process is sooner performed than described. The water is as limpid as the purest spring, and little inferior to the finest Spa. Drink largely of this without fear, according as your appetite requires. By violent perspiration the aqueous part of your blood is thrown off; and it is not spiritous liquor can restore this, whatever momentary strength it may give you from another cause. When hot, and almost fainting with weakness from continual perspiration, Mr. Bruce has gone into a warm bath, and been immediately restored to strength, as upon first rising in the morning.

In Nubia, never scruple to throw yourself into the coldest river or spring you can find, in whatever degree of heat you are. The reason of the difference in Europe is, that when by violence you have raised yourself to an extraordinary degree of heat, the cold water in which you plunge yourself

checks your perspiration, and shuts your pores suddenly. The medium is itself too cold, and you do not use force sufficient to bring back the perspiration, which nought but action occasioned; whereas, in these warm countries, your perspiration is natural and constant, though no action be used, only from the temperature of the medium; therefore, though your pores are shut, the moment you plunge yourself in the cold water, the simple condition of the outward air again covers you with pearls of sweat the moment you emerge; and you begin the expense of the aqueous part of your blood afresh from the new stock that you have laid in by your emersion.

Rice and pillaw are the best food; fowls are very bad, eggs are worse; greens are not wholesome. In Arabia the mutton is good, and, when roasted, may be eaten warm with safety; perhaps better if cold. All soups or broths are to be avoided; all game is bad.

It is a custom that, from the first ages, has prevailed in the east, to shriek and lament upon the death of a friend, or relation, and cut their faces upon the temple with their nails, about the breadth of a sixpence, one of which is left long for that purpose. It was always practised by the Jews, and thence adopted by the Abyssinians, though expressly forbidden both by the law and the prophets. At Masuah, it seems to be particular to dance upon that occasion. The women, friends, and visitors, place themselves in a ring; then dance slowly, figuring in and out as in a country dance. This dance is all to the voice, no instrument being used upon the occasion; only the drum (the butter jar before mentioned) is beat adroitly enough, and seems at once necessary to keep the dance and song in order. In Abyssinia, too, this is pursued in a manner more ridiculous. Upon the death of an ozoro, or any nobleman, the twelve judges, (who are generally between 60 and 70 years of age) sing the song, and dance the figure-dance, in a manner so truly ridiculous, that grief must have taken fast hold of every spectator who does not laugh upon the occasion.

In Masuah, it is a general custom for people to burn myrrh and incense in their houses before they open the doors in the morning ; and when they go out at night, or early in the day, they have always a small piece of rag highly fumigated with these two perfumes, which they stuff into each nostril to keep them from the unwholesome air.

Their houses are, in general, built of poles and bent grass, as in the towns of Arabia ; but, besides these, there are about twenty of stone, six or eight of which are two storeys each ; though the second seldom consists of more than one room, and that one generally not a large one.

Situated as Masuah is, in the very entrance of Abyssinia, a very plentiful country, yet all the necessaries of life are scarce and dear. Their quality, too, is very indifferent. This is owing to the difficulty, expense, and danger of carrying the several articles through the desert flat country, called Samhar, which lies between Arkeeko and the mountains of Abyssinia ; as well as to the extortions exercised by the Naybe, who takes, under the name of customs, whatever part he pleases of the goods and provisions brought to that island ; by which means the profit of the seller is so small, as not to be worth the pains and risk of bringing it.

A considerable trade is carried on at Masuah, notwithstanding these inconveniences, narrow and confined as the island is, and violent and unjust as is the government. But it is all done in a slovenly manner, and for articles where a small capital is invested. Property here is too precarious to risk a venture in valuable commodities, where the hand of power enters into every transaction.

On the 13th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Bruce waited upon the Naybe at his own house. He received him with more civility than usual ; or rather, with less brutality ; for a grain of any thing like civility had never yet appeared in his behaviour. He had just received news, that a servant of his, sent to collect money at Hamazen, had run off with it. As our traveller saw he was busy, he took his leave of him, only asking his commands for Habesh ; to which he answered,

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Their houses are, in general, built of poles and bent grass, as in the towns of Arabia; but, besides these, there are about twenty of stone, six or eight of which are two storeys each; though the second seldom consists of more than one room, and that one generally not a large one.

Situated as Masuah is, in the very entrance of Abyssinia, a very plentiful country, yet all the necessities of life are scarce and dear. Their quality, too, is very indifferent. This is owing to the difficulty, expense, and danger of carrying the several articles through the desert flat country, called Samhar, which lies between Arkeeko and the mountains of Abyssinia; as well as to the extortions exercised by the Naybe, who takes, under the name of customs, whatever part he pleases of the goods and provisions brought to that island; by which means the profit of the seller is so small, as not to be worth the pains and risk of bringing it.

A considerable trade is carried on at Masuah, notwithstanding these inconveniences, narrow and confined as the island is, and violent and unjust as is the government. But it is all done in a slovenly manner, and for articles where a small capital is invested. Property here is too precarious to risk a venture in valuable commodities, where the hand of power enters into every transaction.

On the 13th, at four o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Bruce waited upon the Naybe at his own house. He received him with more civility than usual; or rather, with less brutality; for a grain of any thing like civility had never yet appeared in his behaviour. He had just received news, that a servant of his, sent to collect money at Hamazen, had run off with it. As our traveller saw he was busy, he took his leave of him, only asking his commands for Habesh; to which he answered,

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"We have time enough to think of that; do you come here to-morrow."

On the 14th, in the morning, he waited upon him according to appointment, having first struck his tent and got all his baggage in readiness. He received him as before, then told him with a grave air, "That he was willing to further his journey into Habesh to the utmost of his power, provided he shewed him that consideration which was due to him from all passengers; that, as by his tent, baggage, and arms, he saw he was a man above the common sort, which the Grand Signior's firman, and all his letters testified, less than 1000 pataka's offered by him would be putting a great affront upon him; however, in consideration of the governor of Tigre, to whom he was going, he would consent to receive 300, upon his swearing not to divulge this, for fear of the shame that would fall upon him abroad."

To this Mr. Bruce answered in the same grave tone, - "That he thought him very wrong to take 300 patakas with shame, when receiving a thousand would be more honourable as well as more profitable; therefore, he had nothing to do but put that into his account-book with the governor of Tigre, and settle his honour and his interest together. As for himself, he was sent for by Metical Aga, on account of the king, and was proceeding accordingly; and if he opposed his going forward to Metical Aga, he should return; but then again he should expect ten thousand patakas from Metical Aga for the trouble and loss of time he had been at, which he and the Ras would no doubt settle with him." The Naybe said nothing in reply, but only muttered, closing his teeth, *sheitan afrit*, that devil or tormenting spirit.

Those friends which Mr. Bruce had made at Masuah, seeing the Naybe's obstinacy against their departure, and knowing the cruelty of his nature, advised Mr. Bruce to abandon all thoughts of Abyssinia; for that in passing through Sambar, among the many barbarous people whom he commanded, difficulties would multiply upon them daily, and, either by accident, or order of the Naybe, they would be surely cut off.

off. However, our traveller was too well convinced of the embarrassment that lay behind him, if left alone with the Naybe, and too determined upon his journey, to hesitate upon going forward. He even flattered himself, that his stock of stratagems to prevent their going, was by this time exhausted, and that the morrow would see them in the open fields, free from further tyranny and controul.

On the 15th early in the morning, Mr. Bruce again struck his tent, and had his baggage prepared, to shew they were determined to stay no longer. At eight o'clock he went to the Naybe, and found him almost alone, when he received him in a manner that, for him, might have passed for civil. He began with a considerable degree of eloquence, or fluency of speech, a long enumeration of the difficulties of their journey, the rivers, precipices, mountains and woods they were to pass, the number of wild beasts every where to be found; as also the wild savage people that inhabited those places; the most of which, he said, were luckily under his command, and he would recommend to them to do them all manner of good offices. He commanded two of his secretaries to write the proper letters, and then ordered them coffee.

In the mean time, came in a servant covered with dust, and seemingly fatigued, as having arrived in haste from afar. The Naybe, with a considerable deal of uneasiness and confusion, opened the letters, which were said to bring intelligence, that the Hazorta, Shiho, and Tora, the three nations who possessed that part of Samhar, through which our road led to Dobarwa, the common passage from Masuah to Tigre, had revolted, driven away his servants, and declared themselves independent. He then (as if all was over) ordered his secretaries to stop writing; and lifting up his eyes, began with great seeming devotion to thank god we were not already on our journey, for, innocent as he was, when our travellers should have been cut off, the fault would have been imputed to him. Angry as Mr. Bruce was at so barefaced a farce, he could not help bursting out into a violent fit of loud laughter; when the Naybe put on the severest countenance, and desired to know the reason of his laughing at such a time. "It is now two months, (answered Mr. Bruce) since you have been
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throwing various objections in my way. Can you wonder that I do not give into so gross an imposition? This same morning, before I struck my tent, in presence of your nephew Achmet, I spoke with two Shiho just arrived from Sambar, who brought letters to Achmet, which said all was in peace. Have you earlier intelligence than that of this morning?"

He was for some time without speaking; then said, "If you are weary of living you are welcome to go; but I will do my duty in warning those that are along with you of their and your danger, that, when the mischief happens, it may not be imputed to me." "No number of naked Shiho, (said Mr. Bruce) unless instructed by you, can ever be found on our road, that will venture to attack us. The Shiho have no fire arms; but if you have sent on purpose some of your soldiers that have fire arms, these will discover by what authority they come. For our part, we cannot fly; we neither know the country, the language, nor the watering places, and we shall not attempt it. We have plenty of different sorts of fire arms, and your servants have often seen at Masuah we are not ignorant of the use of them. We, it is true, may lose our lives; that is in the hand of the Almighty; but we shall not fail to leave enough on the spot, to give sufficient indication to the king and Ras Michael, who it was that were our assassins."

Mr. Bruce then rose very abruptly to go away. It is impossible to give any one, not conversant with these people, any conception what perfect masters the most clownish and beastly among them are of dissimulation. The countenance of the Naybe now changed in a moment. In his turn he burst out into a loud fit of laughter, which surprised our traveller full as much as his, some time before had done him. Every feature of his treacherous countenance was altered and softened into complacency; and he, for the first time, bore the appearance of a man. He then confessed, that the whole was only a pretence, to keep him there. "But since you are resolved to go, be not afraid. The roads are safe enough. I will give you a person to conduct you, that will carry you in safety even if there was danger, only go and prepare such remedies as may be proper for the Emir, and leave them with my nephew Achmet, while I finish my letters." This our traveller

traveller willingly consented to do, and on his return he found every thing ready.

Our travellers left Arkeeko on the 15th, taking their road southward, along the plain, which is not here above a mile broad, and covered with short grafs, nothing different from ours, only that the blade is broader. After an hour's journey Mr. Bruce pitched his tent at Laberhey, near a pit of rain water. The mountains of Abyssinia have a singular aspect from this, as they appear in three ridges. The first is of no considerable height, but full of gullies and broken ground, thinly covered with shrubs; the second higher and steeper, still more rugged and bare; the third is a row of sharp, uneven-edged mountains, which would be counted high in any country in Europe. Far above the top of all, towers that stupendous mass, the mountain of Taranta, probably one of the highest in the world, the point of which is buried in the clouds, and very rarely seen but in the clearest weather. At other times abandoned to perpetual mist and darkness, the seat of lightning, thunder, and of storm.

In the evening, a messenger from the Naybe found them at their tent at Laberhey, and carried away their guide Saloome. It was not till the next day that he appeared again, and with him Achmet, the Naybe's nephew, who went into the tent, called for coffee, and while drinking it, said, "You are sufficiently persuaded that I am your friend; if you are not, it is too late now to convince you. It is necessary, however, to explain the reasons of what you see. You are not to go to Dobarwa, though it is the best road, the safest being preferable to the easiest. You will be apt to curse me when you are toiling and sweating ascending Taranta, the highest mountain in Abyssinia, and on this account, worthy of your notice. You are then to consider, if the fatigue of body you then suffer in that passage is not overpaid by the absolute safety you will find yourselves in. Dobarwa belongs to the Naybe, and I cannot answer for the orders he may have given. I have written to my officers there; they will behave the better to you for this; and, as you are strong and robust, the best I can do for you is to send you by a rugged road, and a safe one."

Achmet

Achmet again gave his orders to Saloome, and they all rising, said the *fedtah*, or *prayer of peace*; which being over, Achmet's servant gave him a narrow web of muslin, which, with his own hands, he wrapped round Mr. Bruce's head in the manner the better sort of Mahometans wear it at Dixan. He then parted, saying, "He that is your enemy is mine also: you shall hear of me by Mahomet Gibberti."

This finished a series of trouble and vexation, not to say danger, superior to any thing Mr. Bruce ever before had experienced, and of which the bare recital will give but an imperfect idea. These wretches possess talents for tormenting and alarming, far beyond the power of belief; and by laying a true sketch of them before a traveller, an author does him the most real service.

On the 16th, in the evening they left Laberhey; and, after continuing about an hour along the plain, their grass ended, the ground becoming dry, firm, and gravelly, and they then entered into a wood of acacia trees of considerable size.

On the 18th, at half past five in the morning, they left their station on the side of a green hill at Hamhamou. For some time their road lay through a plain so thick set with acacia trees, that their hands and faces were all torn and bloody with the strokes of their thorny branches. At half past seven, they came to the mouth of a narrow valley, through which a stream of water ran very swiftly over a bed of pebbles. It was the first clear water they had seen since they left Syria, and gave them unspeakable pleasure. It was in taste excellent. The shade of the Tamarind tree, and the coolness of the air, invited them to rest on this delightful spot, though otherwise, perhaps, it was not exactly conformable to the rules of prudence, as they saw several huts and families of the Hazorta along the side of the stream, with their flocks feeding on the branches of trees and bushes, entirely neglectful of the grass they were treading under foot. The caper tree here grows as high as the tallest English elm; its flower is white, and its fruit, though not ripe, was fully as large as an apricot.

On the 19th, they continued their journey, their road still winding between mountains in the bed, or torrent of a river, bordered on each side with rack and sycamore trees of a good size. At half past eight o'clock, they encamped at a place called Tubbo, where the mountains are very steep, and broken very abruptly into cliffs and precipices. Tubbo was by much the most agreeable station they had seen; the trees were thick, full of leaves, and gave them abundance of very dark shade. There was a number of many different kinds so closely planted, that they seemed to be intended for natural arbours. Every tree was full of birds, variegated with an infinity of colours, but destitute of song; others of a more homely and more European appearance, diverted them with a variety of wild notes, in a stile of music still distinct and peculiar to Africa, as different in the composition from our linet and goldfinch, as our English language is to that of Abyssinia: Yet, from very attentive and frequent observation, Mr. Bruce found that the sky-lark at Masuah sung the same notes as in England. It was observable, that the greatest part of the beautiful painted birds were of the jay, or magpie kind: Nature seemed, by the fineness of their dress, to have marked them for children of noise and impertinence, but never to have intended them for pleasure or meditation.

On the 20th, they began to ascend the hills, or eminences, which serve as the roots or skirts of the great mountain Tarranta. The road was on each side bordered with nabca, or jubeb trees of great beauty, and sycamores perfectly deprived of their verdure and branches. The country here is every where deprived of the shade it would enjoy from these fine trees, by the barbarous axes of the Hazorta. They found every where immense flocks of antelopes; as also partridges of a small kind, that willingly took refuge upon trees: neither of these seemed to consider our travellers as enemies. The antelopes let them pass through their flocks, only removing to the right or to the left, or standing still and gazing upon them till they passed. But, as they were then on the confines of Tigre, or rather on the territory of the Baharnagash, and as the Hazorta were in motion every where removing towards the coast, far from the dominions of the Abyssinians,

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to which they were going, a friend of their own tribe, who had joined our travellers for safety, knowing how little trust was to be put in his countrymen when moving in this contrary direction, advised them by no means to fire, or give any unnecessary indication of the spot where they were, till they gained the mountain of Taranta, at the foot of which they halted.

In the afternoon, they began to ascend the mountain, through a most rocky, uneven road, if it can deserve the name, not only from its incredible steepness, but from the large holes and gullies made by the torrents, and the huge monstrous fragments of rocks, which, loosened by the water, had been tumbled down into their way. It was with great difficulty they could creep up, each man carrying his knapsack and arms; but it seemed beyond the possibility of human strength to carry their baggage and instruments. Their tent indeed suffered nothing by its falls; but the telescopes, time-keeper, and quadrant were to be treated in a more deliberate and tender manner. The quadrant had hitherto been carried by eight men, four to relieve each other; but these were ready to give up the undertaking upon trial of the first few hundred yards. A number of expedients, such as trailing it on the ground, (all equally fatal to the instrument) were proposed. At last, as Mr. Bruce was incomparably the strongest of the company, as well as the most interested, he, and a stranger Moor, who had followed them, carried the head of it for about 400 yards over the most difficult and steepest part of the mountain, which before had been considered as impracticable by all.

Yasine was the name of that Moor, recommended to Mr. Bruce by Metigal Aga, a person whom he had discovered to be of a most sagacious turn of mind, firm heart, and strenuous nerves; never more distinguished for all these qualities than in the hour of imminent danger; at other times remarkable for quietness and silence, and a constant study of his Koran.

As our traveller and his company advanced up the sides of the Taranta, their asses were frightened by the appearance of numbers of hyænas, and turned down the hill. A part of the servants followed to bring them back. They overtook the wanderers;

wanderers; but, as they proceeded with them up the hill again, the hyænas crowded round, continued to follow, and became at last so bold, that one seized and pulled down an ass, and a general engagement with the hyænas was about to ensue, when a firelock discharged among them, caused them all to run off, to the great satisfaction of the asses and their drivers.

They found it impossible to pitch their tents, from their extreme weariness in the exertions they had made. But there was another reason also; for there was not earth enough covering the bare sides of Taranta to hold fast a tentpin; there were, however, variety of caves near them, and throughout the mountain, which had served for houses to the old inhabitants; and in these they found a quiet and not inconvenient place of repose the night of the 20th of November.

On the 21st, at half past six in the morning, Mr. Bruce, having encouraged his company with good words, increase of wages, and hopes of reward, they began to encounter the other half of the mountain. His baggage moved much more briskly than the preceding day. The upper part of the mountain was indeed, steeper, more craggy, rugged, and slippery than the lower, and impeded more with trees, but not embarrassed so much with large stones and holes. Their knees and hands, however, were cut to pieces by frequent falls, and their faces torn by the multitude of thorny bushes. At last, they gained the top of the mountain, upon which is situated a small village called Halai, the first they had seen since their leaving Masuah. It is chiefly inhabited by poor servants and shepherds keeping the flocks of men of substance living in the town of Dixan.

The plain on the top of the mountain Taranta was, in many places, sown with wheat, which was then ready to be cut down, though the harvest was not yet begun. The grain was clean, and of a good colour, but inferior in size to that of Egypt. It did not, however, grow thick, nor was the stalk above fourteen inches high. The water is very bad on the top of Taranta, being only what remains of the rain in the hollows of the rocks, and in pits prepared for it. Being
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very tired they pitched their tent on the top of the mountain. The night was remarkably cold, at least appeared so to them, whose pores were opened by the excessive heat of Masuah. The dew began to fall strongly, and continued so till an hour after sunset, though the sky was perfectly clear, and the smallest stars discernible.

The people inhabiting this mountain and its environs, are not black, but of a yellowish dark complexion. Their hair is short and curled; but the curl is artificial. They wear sandals on their feet, a goat-skin on their shoulders, and a cotton cloth about their middle. Abundance of beautiful cattle feed on the mountain. The cows are, for the most part, completely white, with large dewlaps, hanging to their knees, long silken hair, and wide horns like those of our Lincolnshire breed of black cattle. The sheep are large, and uniformly black; with great heads, short ears, and hair instead of wool.

Mr. Bruce killed a large eagle here, about six feet ten inches from wing to wing. It seemed very tame till shot. The ball having wounded it but slightly, when on the ground it could not be prevented from attacking the men or beasts near it with great force and fierceness, so that Mr. Bruce was obliged to stab it with a bayonet. It was of a dirty white; only the head and upper part of its wings were of a light brown.

On the morning of the 22d, they left their station on the top of Taranta, and soon after began to descend on the side of Tigre, through a broken and uneven road. After this they began to mount a small hill, from which they had a distinct view of Dixan. They pitched their tent near some marshy ground for the sake of water, at three quarters past ten; but it was very bad, having been for several weeks stagnant. They saw here the people busy at their wheat harvest; others, who had finished theirs, were treading it out with cows or bullocks. They make no use of their straw; sometimes they burn it, and sometimes leave it on the spot to rot.

At half an hour after four in the afternoon, they came to Dixan. Halai was the first village, so is this the first town in
Abyssinia,

Abyssinia, on the side of Taranta. Dixan is built on the top of a hill perfectly in form of a sugar loaf; a deep valley surrounds it every where like a trench, and the road winds spirally up the hill till it ends among the houses.

Our travellers' baggage had passed the trench, and had reached the low town through which Saloome had conducted Mr. Bruce, under pretence of getting a speedy shelter from the heat: but he overacted his part; and Janni, his servant, who spoke Greek, giving Mr. Bruce a hint to go no farther, he turned short towards the house, and sat down with his fire-lock upon a stone at the door. Their baggage quickly followed, and all was put safe in a kind of court enclosed with a sufficient stone wall.

It was not long till Hagi Abdelcader, Achmet's friend, came to them, inviting Mr. Bruce civilly to his house, and declaring to him the friendly orders he had received from Achmet concerning him; bringing along with him also a goat, some butter and honey. Mr. Bruce excused himself from leaving Janni's friend, the Christian, where he had first alighted; but he recommended Yafine to him, for he had begun to shew great attachment to Mr. Bruce. In about a quarter of an hour came Saloome, with about twenty men, and demanded our travellers in the name of the Naybe, as his strangers; he said they owed him money for conducting them, and likewise for the custom-house dues. In a moment near a hundred men were assembled round Hagi Abdelcader, all with shields and lances, and Mr. Bruce expected to see a fray of the most serious kind. But Abdelcader, with a switch in his hand, went gravely up to Saloome, and, after chiding his party with great authority, he held up his stick twice over Saloome's head, as if to strike him; then ordered him, if he had any demands, to come to him in the evening; upon which both parties dispersed and left them in peace. The matter was settled in the evening with Saloome in an amicable manner.

The town of Dixan consists of Moors and Christians, and is very well peopled; yet the only trade of either of these sects is a very extraordinary one, that of selling of children. The

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Christians

Christians bring such as they have stolen in Abyssinia to Dixan as to a sure deposit; and the Moors receive them there; and carry them to a certain market at Masuah, whence they are sent over to Arabia or India. The priests of the province of Tigre, especially those near the rock Damo, are openly concerned in this infamous practice; and some of these have been licensed by Michael to carry it on as a fair trade, upon paying so many firelocks for each dozen or score of slaves. Nothing can elucidate the footing upon which this trade stands better than a transaction which happened while Mr. Bruce was in Ethiopia, and which reached Gondar by way of complaint from Masuah, and was told him by Michael himself.

Two priests of Tigre, whose names Mr. Bruce has forgotten, had been long intimate friends. They dwelt near the rock Damo. The youngest was married and had two children, both sons; the other was old and had none. The old one reproved his friend one day for keeping his children at home idle, and not putting them to some profession by which they might gain their bread. The married priest pleaded his poverty, and his want of relations that could assist him; on which, the old priest offered to place his eldest son with a rich friend of his own, who had no children, and where he should want for nothing. The proposal was accepted, and the young lad, about ten years of age, was delivered by his father to the old priest, to carry him to his friend, who sent the boy to Dixan, and sold him there. Upon the old priest's return, after giving the father a splendid account of his son's reception, treatment, and prospects, he gave him a piece of cotton cloth, as a present from his son's patron. The younger child, about eight years old, hearing the good fortune of his elder brother, became so importunate to be allowed to go and visit him, that the parents were obliged to humour him, and consent. But the old priest had a scruple, saying, he would not take the charge of so young a boy, unless his mother went with him. This being settled, the old priest conveyed them to the market at Dixan, where he sold both the mother and the remaining child. Returning to the father, the old priest told him, that his wife would stay only so long, and expected he would then fetch her upon a certain day, which was named.

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The day being come, the two priests went together to see this happy family; and, upon their entering Dixan, it was found that the old priest had sold the young one, but not to the same Moor to whom he had sold his family. Soon after, these two Moors who had bought the Christians, becoming partners in the venture, the old priest was to receive forty cotton-cloths, that is 10*l.* sterling, for the husband, wife and children.

The payment of the money, perhaps the resentment of the family trepanned, and the appearance of equity which the thing itself bore, suggested to the Moorish merchants that there was some more profit, and not more risk, if they carried off the old priest likewise. But as he had come to Dixan, as it were under public faith, in a trade that greatly interested the town, they were afraid to attempt any thing against him whilst there. They began then as it were to repent of their bargain, from a pretended apprehension that they might be stopped and questioned at going out of town, unless he would accompany them to some small distance; in consideration of which, they would give him, at parting, two pieces of cloth to be added to the other forty, which he was to take back to Tigre with him upon his return. The beginning of such expeditions is in the night. When all were asleep, they set out from Dixan, the buyers, the feller, and the family sold; and, being arrived near the mountain where the way turns off to the desert, the whole party fell upon the old priest, threw him down, and bound him. The woman insisted that she might be allowed to cut or tear off the little beard he had, in order, as she said, to make him look younger; and this demand was reckoned too just to be denied her. The whole five were then carried to Masuah; the woman and her two children were sold to Arabia; the two priests had not so ready a market, and they were both in the Naybe's house when Mr. Bruce was at Masuah, though he did not then know it.

The Naybe, willing to ingratiate himself with Ras Michael at a small expense, wrote to him an account of the transaction, and offered, as they were priests, to restore them to him. But the Ras returned for answer, that the Naybe should

should keep them to be his chaplains; as he hoped, some day he would be converted to the Christian faith himself; if not, he might send them to Arabia with the rest; they would serve to be carriers of wood and drawers of water; and that there still remained at Damo enough of their kind to carry on the trade with Dixan and Masuah.

* This story Mr. Bruce heard from Ras Michael himself, at his grand-daughter's marriage, when he was feasting, and in great spirits. He, and all the company laughed heartily; and, although there were in the room at least two dozen of priests, none of them seemed to take this incident more seriously than the rest of the company. From this we may guess at the truth of what the Catholic writers advance, with regard to the respect and reverence shown to the priesthood by the government, and great men in Abyssinia. Dixan is in lat. $14^{\circ} 57' 55''$ North, and long. $40^{\circ} 7' 30''$ east of the meridian of Greenwich.

Our travellers left Dixan on the 25th of November, descending the very deep hill on which the town is situated. Hagi Abdelcader had attended them thus far before he left them, and the noted Saloome came likewise, to see if some occasion would offer of doing them further mischief; but the king's servants, now upon their own ground, began to take upon them a proper consequence. One of them went to meet Saloome at the bank of the river; and, making a mark on the ground with his knife, declared that his patience was quite exhausted by what he had been witness to at Masuah and Dixan; and if now Saloome, or any other man belonging to the Naybe, offered to pass the mark, he would bind him hand and foot, and carry him to a place where he should be left tied to a tree, a prey to the lion and hyæna. They all returned; and there our travellers' persecution from the Naybe ended. But it was very evident from Achmet's behaviour and discourse, had they gone by Dobarwa, which was the road proposed by the Naybe, their sufferings would not have been, as yet, half finished, unless they had ended with their lives.

They remained under a tree seven feet and a half in diameter during the night of the 25th. Mr. Bruce says, it will be

to him, a station ever memorable, as the first where he recovered a portion of that tranquillity of mind, to which he had been a stranger ever since his arrival at Masuah.

On the 26th, at seven in the morning, they left their most pleasant quarters under the tree, and set forward with great alacrity. About a quarter of a mile from the river they crossed the end of the plain Zarai. Though this is but three miles long, and one where broadest, it was the largest plain they had seen since their passing Taranta, whose top was now covered wholly with large, black, and very heavy clouds, from which they heard and saw frequent peals of thunder, and violent streams of lightning. This plain was sown partly with wheat, and partly with Indian corn; the first was cut down, the other not yet ripe.

About half after eleven, they encamped under a mountain, on the top of which is a village called Hadawi, the seat of the Baharnagash. That nobleman visited our traveller in his tent, and was the first Abyssinian whom he had seen on horseback. He asked Mr. Bruce whether he had ever seen horses before, and described their qualities in such a manner as could have given no distinct ideas of their character to a person unacquainted with the species. A goat and fifty cakes of tefl bread were procured from him. For several different articles, in value about 12l. sterling, Mr. Bruce bought of him a black horse that pleased him. But when the horse was to be delivered, after the price had been paid, the Baharnagash offered in his stead an old brown one, blind of an eye. Mr. Bruce and his friends remonstrated; and after attempting in vain to put them off with some pitiful pretences and excuses, the seller produced the black horse for which our traveller had bargained. He called him Mirza, and found in him a companion who contributed always to his pleasure, and more than once to his safety, and was of considerable use in gaining him the notice of the Abyssinian monarch. The Baharnagash was, in the end, well pleased with his bargain. Mr. Bruce made him some presents. He made himself drunk with hydromel at our traveller's tent. His character was strongly marked with simplicity and buffonery: but he was a man of great personal bravery, and afterwards died fighting for his sovereign, in the battle of Serbraxos.

On the 27th they left Hadawi continuing their journey down a very steep and narrow path between too stony hills; then ascended one still higher, upon the top of which stands the large village of Goumbubba, whence they had a prospect over a considerable plain all sown with the different grain this country produces, wheat, barley, teff, and tocusso; simsim (or sesame) and nook; the last is used for oil.

At five o'clock in the afternoon they had a violent shower of hailstones. Nothing is more common than aggravation about the size of hail; but, stooping to take up one, Mr. Bruce thought as large as a nutmeg, he received a blow from another just under his eye, which he imagined had blinded him, and which occasioned a swelling all the next day.

Yasine, during the four days Mr. Bruce had staid at a place called Kello, had told him his whole history. It seems he had been settled in a province of Abyssinia, near to Sennaar, called Ras el feel; had married Abd el Jilleel, the Shekh's daughter; but, growing more popular than his father-in-law, he had been persecuted by him, and obliged to leave the country. He began now to form hopes, that, if Mr. Bruce was well received, as he saw, in all appearance, he was to be, he might, by his interest, be appointed to his father-in-law's place; especially if there was war, as every thing seemed to indicate. Abd el Jilleel was a coward, and incapable of making himself of personal value to any party. On the contrary, Yasine was a tried man, an excellent horseman, strong, active, and of known courage, having been twice with the late king Yafous in his invasions of Sennaar, and both times much wounded there.

On the 5th of December, they began first to see the high mountains of Adowa, nothing resembling in shape to those of Europe, nor, indeed, any other country. Their sides were all perpendicular rocks, high, like steeples, or obelisks, and broken into a thousand different forms.

They next passed the Mareb, which is the boundary between Tigre and the Baharnagash, on this side. It runs over a bed of soil; is large, deep, and smooth; but, upon rain falling,

calling, it is more dangerous to pass than any river in Abyssinia, on account of the frequent holes in its bottom. They then entered the narrow plain of Yeeha, wherein runs the small river, which either gives its name to, or takes it from it.

At eleven o'clock, they rested by the side of the mountain whence the river falls. All the villages that had been built here bore the marks of the justice of the governor of Tigre. They had been long the most incorrigible banditti in the province. He surrounded them in one night, burnt their houses, extirpated the inhabitants, and would never suffer any one since to settle there.

On Wednesday the 6th of December, they again proceeded on their journey, and in about three hours travelling on a very pleasant road, over easy hills and through hedge-rows of jessamine, honeysuckles, and many kinds of flowering shrubs, they arrived at Adowa, where once resided Michael Suhul, governor of Tigre.

Adowa is situated on the declivity of a hill, on the west side of a small plain, surrounded every where by mountains. This plain is watered by three rivulets, which are never dry in the midst of summer. There are fish in these three streams, but none of them remarkable for their size, quantity, or goodness. The best are those of Mai Gogua, a clear and pleasant rivulet, running very violently and with great noise. There are many agreeable spots to the south east of the convent, on the banks of this river, which are thick-shaded with wood and bushes.

Adowa consists of about 300 houses, and occupies a much larger space than would be thought necessary for these to stand on, by reason that each house has an enclosure round it of hedges and trees; the last chiefly the wanzey. The number of these trees so planted in all the towns, screen them so, that, at a distance, they appear so many woods. Adowa was not formerly the capital of Tigre, but has accidentally become so upon the accession of this governor, whose property or paternal estate, lay in and about it. His mansion-house is not distinguished from any of the others in the town, unless
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by its size ; it is situated upon the top of the hill, and resembles a prison rather than a palace ; for there are, in and about it, above three hundred persons in irons, some of whom have been there for twenty years, mostly with a view to extort money from them ; and, what is the most unhappy, even when they have paid the sum of money which he asks, they do not get their deliverance from his merciless hands : most of them are kept in cages like wild beasts, and treated every way in the same manner.

What deservedly interested our travellers most was, the appearance of their kind and hospitable landlord Janni. He had sent servants to conduct them from the passage of the river, and met them himself at the outer door of his house. Mr. Bruce says, he does not remember to have seen a more respectable figure. He had his own short white hair, covered with a thin muslin turban, a thick well-shaped beard, as white as snow, down to his waist. He was clothed in the Abyssinian dress, all of white cotton, only he had a red silk sash, embroidered with gold, about his waist, and sandals on his feet : his upper garment reached down to his ankles. He had a number of servants and slaves about him of both sexes ; and, when Mr. Bruce approached him, he seemed disposed to receive him with marks of humility and inferiority, which mortified him much, considering the obligations he was under to him, the trouble he had given, and was unavoidably still to give him. Mr. Bruce embraced him with great acknowledgments of kindness and gratitude, calling him father ; a title he always used in speaking either to him or of him afterwards, when he was in higher fortune, which he constantly remembered with great pleasure.

He conducted them through a court-yard planted with jessamine, to a very neat, and, at the same time, large room, furnished with a silk sofa : the floor was covered with Persian carpets and cushions. All round, flowers and green leaves were strewed upon the outer-yard ; and the windows and sides of the room stuck full of evergreens, in commemoration of the Christmas festival that was at hand. Mr. Bruce stopped at the entrance of this room ; for his feet were both dirty and bloody, and it is not good breeding to show or speak
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of your feet in Abyssinia, especially if any thing ails them ; and, at all times, they are covered. Janni immediately perceived the wounds that were upon his feet. Both their clothes and flesh were torn to pieces at Taranta, and several other places ; but he thought they had come on mules furnished them by the Naybe. For the young man Mr. Bruce had sent to him from Kello, following the genius of his countrymen, though telling truth was just as profitable to him as lying, had chosen the latter, and seeing the horse he had got from the Baharnagash, had figured in his own imagination a multitude of others, and told Janni that there were with Mr. Bruce, horses, asses, and mules in great plenty ; so that when Janni saw them passing the water, he took our traveller for a servant, and expected for several minutes to see the splendide company arrive, well mounted upon horses and mules caprifoned.

He was so shocked at Mr. Bruce's saying that he performed this terrible journey on foot, that he burst into tears, uttering a thousand reproaches against the Naybe for his heard-heartedness and ingratitude, as he had twice, he said, hindered Michael from going in person and sweeping the Naybe from the face of the earth. Water was immediately procured to wash their feet. And here began another contention : Janni insisted upon doing this himself, which made Mr. Bruce run out into the yard, and declare he would not suffer it. After this, the like dispute took place among the servants. It was always a ceremony in Abyssinia, to wash the feet of those that come from Cairo, and who were understood to have been pilgrims at Jerusalem.

This was no sooner finished, than a great dinner was brought, exceedingly well dressed. But no consideration or entreaty could prevail upon their kind landlord to sit down and partake with them. He would stand all the time, with a clean towel in his hand, though he had plenty of servants ; and afterwards dined with some visitors, who had come out of curiosity, to see a man arrived from so far. It was long before Mr. Bruce cured his kind landlord of these respectful observances, which troubled him very much ; nor could Janni wholly ever git rid of them.

Adowa

Adowa is the seat of a very valuable manufacture of coarse cotton cloth, which circulates all over Abyssinia, instead of silver money; each web is sixteen peek long, of one and three fourths wide, their value a pataka; that is, ten for the ounce of gold. The houses in Adowa are all of rough stone, cemented with mud instead of mortar. That of lime is not used but at Gondar, where it is very bad. The roofs are in the form of cones, and thatched with a reedy sort of grass, something thicker than wheat straw. Excepting a few spots taken notice of as they came to Adowa, this was the only part of Tigre where there was soil sufficient to yield corn; the whole of the province besides was one entire rock.

At Adowa, and all the neighbourhood, they have three harvests annually. The first seed time is in July and August; it is the principal one for wheat, which they then sow in the middle of the rains. In the same season they sow tencisso, teff, and barley. From the 20th of November, they reap first their barley, then their wheat, and last of all their teff. In the room of these, they sow immediately upon the same ground, without any manure, barley, which they reap in February; and then often sow teff, but more frequently a kind of veitch, or pea, called Shimbra: these are cut down before the first rains, which are in April. With all these advantages of triple harvests, which cost no fallowing, weeding, manure or other expensive processes, the farmer in Abyssinia is always poor and miserable.

The cattle roam at discretion through the mountains. The herdsmen set fire to the grass, bent, and brushwood, before the rains, and an amazing verdure immediately follows. As the mountains are very steep and broken, goats are chiefly the flocks that graze upon them. It is not the extreme height of the mountains in Abyssinia that occasions surprise, but the number of them, and the extraordinary forms they present to the eye. Some of them are flat, thin, and square, in shape of hearthstone, or slab, that scarce would seem to have base sufficient to resist the action of the winds. Some are like pyramids, others like obelisks or prisms, and some, the most extraordinary of all the rest, pyramids pitched upon their points, with their base uppermost, which, if it were possible,

possible, as it is not, they could have been so formed in the beginning; would be strong objections to our received ideas of gravity.

On the 10th of January 1770, Mr. Bruce visited the remains of the Jesuits convent of Fremona. It is built upon the even ridge of a very high hill, in the middle of a large plain, on the opposite side of which stands Adowa. It rises from the east to the west, and ends in a precipice on the east; it is also very steep to the north, and slopes gently down to the plain on the south. The convent is about a mile in circumference, built substantially with stones, which are cemented with lime mortar. It has towers in the flanks and angles; and, notwithstanding the ill usage it has suffered, the walls remain still entire to the height of twenty-five feet. It is divided into three, by the cross walls of equal height. The first division seems to have been destined for the convent, the middle for the church, and the third division is separated from this by a wall, and stands upon a precipice.

The kindness, hospitality, and fatherly care of Janni never ceased a moment. He had already represented Mr. Bruce in the most favourable light to the Iteghe, or queen-mother, (whose servant he had long been,) to her daughter Ozoro Esther, and Ozoro Atlash; and, above all, to Michael, with whom his influence was very great; and, indeed, [to every body he had any weight with, his own countrymen, Greeks, Abyssinians, and Mahometans; and, as they afterwards found, he had raised their curiosity to a great pitch.

On the 17th, our travellers set out from Adowa, resuming their journey to Gondar; and, on the 18th, in the morning, they ascended one of those hills, through a very rough, stony road, and again came into the plain wherein stood Axum, once the capital of Abyssinia. The ruins of Axum are very extensive; but, like the cities of ancient times, consist altogether of public buildings. In one square, which Mr. Bruce apprehended to have been the centre of the town, there are forty obelisks, none of which have any hieroglyphics upon them.

Axum

Axum is watered by a small stream, which flows all the year from a fountain in the narrow valley, where stand the rows of obelisks. The spring is received into a magnificent basin of 150 feet square, and thence it is carried, at pleasure, to water the neighbouring gardens, where there is little fruit, excepting pomegranates; neither are these very excellent. The present town of Axum stands at the foot of the hill, and may have about six hundred houses. There are several manufactures of coarse cotton cloth; and here too the best parchment is made of goats' skins, which is the ordinary employment of the monks. On the 19th of January, by a meridian altitude of the sun, and a mean of several altitudes of stars by night, Mr. Bruce found the latitude of Axum to be $14^{\circ} 51' 36''$ north.

On the morning of the 20th of January, Mr. Bruce left Axum; the road was at first sufficiently even, through small valleys and meadows: they began to ascend gently, but through a road exceedingly difficult in itself, by reason of large stones standing on edge, or heaped one upon another; apparently the remains of an old large causeway, part of the magnificent works about Axum.

The last part of the journey made ample amends for the difficulties and fatigue they had suffered in the beginning. For the road, on every side, was perfumed with a variety of flowering shrubs, chiefly different species of jessamine; one, in particular, of these, called *agam*, impregnated the whole air with the most delicious odour, and covered the small hills through which they passed, in such profusion, that they were, at times, almost overcome with its fragrance. The country all round had now the most beautiful appearance, and this was heightened by the finest of weather, and a temperature of air neither too hot nor too cold.

Soon after our travellers had lost sight of the ruins of this ancient capital of Abyssinia, they overtook three travellers driving a cow before them; they had black goat skins upon their shoulders, and lances and shields in their hands, in other respects were but thinly clothed; they appeared to be soldiers.

diers. The cow did not seem to be fatted for killing; and it occurred to our travellers that it had been stolen. This, however, was not their business; nor was such an occurrence at all remarkable in a country so long engaged in war. They saw that their attendants attached themselves in a particular manner to the three soldiers who were driving the cow, and held a short conversation with them. Soon after, the drivers suddenly tripped up the cow, and gave the poor animal a very rude fall upon the ground, which was but the beginning of her sufferings. One of them sat across her neck holding down her head by the horns, the other twisted the halter about her forefeet; while the third, who had a knife in his hand, to Mr. Bruce's very great surprise, in place of taking her by the throat, got astride upon her belly before her hind legs, and gave a very deep wound in the upper part of her buttock. From the time Mr. Bruce had seen them throw the beast upon the ground, he had rejoiced, thinking that, when three people were killing a cow, they must have agreed to sell part of her to them; and he was much disappointed upon hearing the Abyssinians say, that they were to pass the river to the other side, and no encamp where he intended. Upon Mr. Bruce's proposing they should bargain for part of the cow, his men answered that they had already learned in conversation, that they were not then to kill her; that she was not wholly theirs, and they could not sell her. This awakened Mr. Bruce's curiosity; he let his people go forward, and staid himself, till he saw, with the utmost astonishment, two pieces, thicker and longer than our ordinary beef stakes, cut out of the higher part of the buttock of the beast. How it was done, he cannot positively say; because, judging the cow was to be killed from the moment he saw the knife drawn, he was not anxious to view that catastrophe, which was by no means an object of curiosity: whatever way it was done, it surely was adroitly, and the two pieces were spread upon the outside of one of their shields.

One of them still continued holding the head, while the other two were busied in curing the wound. This too was done not in an ordinary manner; the skin which had covered the flesh which was taken away was left entire, flapped

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over the wound, and was fastened to the corresponding part by two or more small skewers, or pins. Whether they had put any thing under the skin, between that and the wounded flesh, Mr. Bruce cannot tell ; but at the river side where they were, they had prepared a cataplasm of clay, with which they covered the wound ; they then forced the animal to rise, and drove it on before them, to furnish them with a fuller meal when they should meet their companions in the evening.

Mr. Bruce could not but admire a dinner so truly soldier-like, nor did he ever see so commodious a manner of carrying provisions along on the road as this was. He naturally attributed this to necessity, and the love of expedition. It was a liberty, to be sure, taken with Christianity ; but what transgression is not warranted to a soldier, when distressed by his enemy in the field ? He could not as yet conceive that this was the ordinary banquet of citizens, and even of priests throughout all this country. In the hospitable, humane house of Janni, these living feasts had never appeared. It is true they had seen raw meat, but no part of an animal torn from it with the blood. The first shocked them as uncommon, but the other as impious.

On the 20th, they pitched their tent in a small plain, by the banks of a quick clear running stream ; the spot is called Mai Shum. A peasant had made a very neat little garden on both sides of the rivulet, in which he had sown abundance of onions and garlic ; and he had a species of pumpkin, which Mr. Bruce thought was little inferior to a melon. This man guessed by their arms and horses that they were hunters ; and he brought them a present of the fruits of his garden, and begged their assistance, against a number of wild boars, which carried havock and desolation through all his labours, marks of which were, indeed, too visible every where. Such instances of industry are very rare in this country, and demanded encouragement. Mr. Bruce paid him, therefore, for his greens ; and sent two of his servants with him into the wood, and got on horseback himself. Mirza, his horse, indeed, as well as his master, had recruited greatly during their stay at Adowa, under the hospitable roof of their good friend Janni.

Amongst

Amongst them they killed five boars, all large ones, in the space of about two hours; one of which measured six feet nine inches; and though he ran at an amazing speed near two miles, so as to be with difficulty overtaken by the horse, and was struck through and through with two heavy lances, loaded at the end with iron, no person dared to come near him on foot, and he defended himself above half an hour, till, having no lances left, Mr. Bruce shot him with a horse pistol. But the misfortune was, that after their hunting had been crowned with such success, they did not dare to partake of the excellent venison they had acquired; for the Abyssinians hold pork of all kinds in the utmost detestation; and our traveller was now become cautious, lest he should give offence, being at no great distance from the capital.

In the course of their journey, Mr. Bruce heard a cry from his servants, "Robbers! Robbers!" He immediately got upon his mule, to learn what alarm this might be, and saw, to his great surprise, part of his baggage strewed on the ground, the servants running, some leading, others on foot driving such of their mules as were unloaded before them; in a word every thing in the greatest confusion possible. Having got to the edge of the wood, they faced about, and began to prepare their fire-arms; but, as Mr. Bruce saw the king's two servants, and the man that Janni sent with them endeavoring all they could to pitch the tent, he forbade them to fire, till they should receive orders from him. Mr. Bruce now rode immediately up to the tent, and in his way was saluted from amongst the bushes with many stones, one of which gave him a violent blow upon the foot. At the same instant, he received another blow with a small unripe pumpkin, just upon the belly, where he was strongly defended by the coarse cotton cloth wrapped several times about him by way of sash or girdle. As robbers fight with other arms than pumpkins, when Mr. Bruce saw this fall at his feet, he was no longer under apprehension.

Notwithstanding this disagreeable reception, our traveller advanced towards them, crying out, they were friends, and Ras Michael's friends; and desired only to speak to them, and

and he would give them what they wanted. A few stones were the only answer ; but they did no hurt. Mr. Bruce then gave Yafine his gun, thinking that might have given offence. The top of the tent being now up, two men came forward making great complaints, but of what he did not understand ; only that they seemed to accuse our travellers of having wronged them. In short they found the matter was this ; one of the Moors had taken a heap of straw, which he was carrying to his ass, and the proprietor, at seeing this, had alarmed the village. Every body had taken lances and shields ; but, not daring to approach, for fear of the fire-arms, they had contented themselves with showering stones from their hiding places, at a distance from among the bushes. Our travellers immediately told them, however, that though, as the king's guests, they had a title to be furnished with what was necessary, yet, if they were averse to it, they were very well content to pay for ever thing they furnished, both for their men and beasts ; but that they must throw no stones, otherwise they should defend themselves.

The tent being now pitched, and every thing in order, a treaty soon followed. They consented to sell them what they wanted, but at extravagant prices ; which, however, Mr. Bruce was content to comply with. But a man of the village, acquainted with one of the king's servants, had communicated to him, that the pretence of the Moor's taking the straw, was not really the reason of the uproar, for they made no use of it except to burn ; but, that a report had been spread abroad, that an action had happened between Fasil and Ras Michael, in which the latter had been defeated, and the country no longer in fear of the Ras, had indulged themselves in their usual excesses ; and, taking them for a caravan of Mahometans with merchandize, had resolved to rob them.

On the 22d, they arrived at the town of Sire, and pitched their tent in a strong situation, in a very deep gulley, on the west extremity of the town.

Sire, the province properly so called, reaches from Axum to the Tacazze. The town of Sire is situated on the brink of a very steep narrow valley, and through this the road lies, which

which is almost impassable. In the midst of this valley runs a brook, bordered with palm trees, some of which are grown to a considerable size, but bear no fruit. The town is larger than that of Axum; it is in form of a half-moon, fronting the plain; but its greatest breadth is at the west end; all the houses are of clay, and thatched; the roofs are in form of cones, as indeed, are all in Abyssinia. Sire is famous for a manufacture of coarse cotton cloths, which pass for current money, through all the province of Tigre, and are valued at a drachm, the tenth part of a wakea of gold, or near the value of an imperial dollar each; their breadth is a yard and a quarter. Besides these, beads, needles, cohob, and incense, at times only, are considered as money. The articles depend greatly on chance, which or whether any are current for the time or not; but the latter is often demanded; and, for the first, there are modes and fashions among these barbarians, and all, except those of a certain colour and form, are useless. These people were not of a humour to buy and sell with them. They were not perfectly satisfied that Michael was alive, and waited only a confirmation of the news of his defeat, to make their own terms with all strangers unfortunate enough to fall into their hands. On the other hand, our travellers were in possession of superior force, and, knowing their inclinations, they treated them pretty much in the manner they would have done by them. Mr. Bruce, on the 22d of January, determined the latitude of Sire to be $14^{\circ} 4' 35''$ north, and its longitude to be $38^{\circ} 0' 15''$ east of the meridian of Greenwich.

Although Sire is situated in one of the finest countries in the world, like other places, it has its inconveniences. Putrid fevers, of the very worst kind, are almost constant here; and there did then actually reign a species of these, that daily swept away a number of people.

At Sire, our travellers heard the good news that Ras Michael, on the 10th of this month, had come up with Fasil at Fagitta, and entirely dispersed his army, after killing 10,000 men. This account, though not confirmed by any authority, struck all the mutinous of this province with awe; and ev-

ery man returned to his duty for fear of incurring the displeasure of this severe governor, which they well knew would instantly be followed by more than an adequate portion of vengeance, especially against those that had not accompanied him to the field.

On the 24th, they struck their tent at Sire, and passed through a vast plain. All this day they could discern no mountains, as far as eye could reach, but only some few detached hills, standing separate on the plain, covered with high grass, which they were then burning, to produce new with the first rains. The country to the north is altogether flat, and perfectly open; and though they could not discover one village this day, yet it seemed to be well inhabited, from the many people they saw on different parts of the plain, some at harvest, and some herding their cattle.

On the 26th, our travellers met a deserter from Ras Michael's army, with his firelock upon his shoulder, driving before him two miserable girls about ten years old, stark-naked, and almost famished to death, the part of the booty which had fallen to his share, in laying waste the country of Maitsha, after the battle. They asked him of the truth of this news, but he would give them no satisfaction; sometimes he said there had been a battle, sometimes none. He apparently had some distrust, that one or other of the facts being allowed to be true, might determine them as to some design they might have upon him and his booty. He had not, in their opinion, the air of a conqueror, but rather of a coward that had sneaked away, and stolen these two miserable wretches he had with him. Mr. Bruce asked where Michael was? if at Bure? where, upon defeat of Fasil, he naturally would be. He said, No; he was at Ibaba, the capital of Maitsha; and this gave our travellers no light, it being the place he would go to before, while detachments of his army might be employed in burning and laying waste the country of the enemy he had determined to ruin, rather than return to it some time after the battle. At last they were obliged to leave him. Mr. Bruce gave him some flour and tobacco, both which he took very thankfully; but further intelligence he would not give.

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The banks of the Tacazza, present a beautiful prospect. On the edge of the water, they are fringed with tamarisks. Behind these, grow tall straight trees, which seem to have gained additional strength from having long resisted the violence of the stream. They are covered through the whole year with fruits, flowers, or foliage. One species among them, however, the Bohabab, or Dooma, drops its leaves. It is the largest tree in Abyssinia. Its trunk is never very tall; it tapers, but not beautifully, from top to bottom; it has the appearance of a large cannon, and shoots out a multitude of strong branches, all of which form small acute angles with the trunk. Its fruit is of the size of a melon, and of a pleasant, subacid taste. The wood is soft and spongy, the wild bees perforate the trunk, and deposit their honey in their holes.

On the 30th, our travellers encamped at Addergy, near a small rivulet called Mai-Lumi, the river of limes, or lemons, in a plain scarce a mile square, surrounded on each side with very thick wood, in form of an amphitheatre. Above this wood, are bare, rugged, and barren mountains. Midway in the cliff is a miserable village, that seems rather to hang than to stand there, scarce a yard of level ground being before it to hinder its inhabitants from falling down the precipice. The wood is full of lemons and wild citrons, from which it acquires its name. Before the tent, to the westward, was a very deep valley, which terminated this little plain in a tremendous precipice.

The hyenas this night devoured one of the best of our travellers' mules. They are here in great plenty, and so are lions: the roaring and grumbling of the latter, in the part of the wood nearest their tent, greatly disturbed their beasts, and prevented them from eating their provender.

Mr. Bruce lengthened the strings of his tent, and placed the beasts between them. The white ropes, and the tremulous motion made by the impression of the wind, frightened the lions from coming near them. They had procured from Janni two small brass bells, such as the mules carry, and had tied these to the storm strings of the tent, where their noise,

noise, no doubt, greatly contributed to the safety of their beasts, from these ravenous, yet cautious animals, so that they never saw them; but the noise they made, and, perhaps, their smell, so terrified the mules, that, in the morning, they were drenched in sweat, as if they had been a long journey. The brutish hyæna was not so to be deterred. Mr. Bruce shot one of them dead on the night of the 31st of January; and, on the 2d of February, he fired at another, so near, that he was confident of killing him. Whether the balls had fallen out, or that he had really missed him with the first barrel, he knew not, but he gave a snarl and a kind of bark upon the first shot, advancing directly upon him, as if unhurt.

The second shot, however, took place, and laid him without motion on the ground. Yafine and his men killed another with a pike; and such was their determined coolness, that they stalked round about our travellers with the familiarity of a dog, or some other domestic animal brought up with man.

They were still more incommoded by a smaller animal, a large black ant, little less than an inch long, which, coming out from under the ground, demolished their carpets, which they cut all into shreds, and part of the lining of their tent likewise, and every bag or sack they could find. Their bite causes a considerable inflammation, and the pain is greater than that which arises from the bite of a scorpion; they are called *gundan*.

The Shum, on the first of February, sent his people to value, as he said, their merchandize, that they might pay custom. Many of the Moors, in their caravan, had left them to go a near way to Huaza. Mr. Bruce had at most five or six asses, including those belonging to Yafine. He humoured them so far, as to open the cases where were the telescopes and quadrant; or, indeed, rather shewed them open, as they were not shut, from the observation he had been making. They could only wonder at things they had never before seen. On the 2d of February, the Shum came himself, and a violent altercation ensued. He insisted upon Michael's defeat: Mr.

Bruce

Bruce told him the contrary news were true, and begged him to beware, lest it should be told to the Ras upon his return, that he had propagated such a falsehood. He told him also, that they had advice, that the Ras's servants were now waiting for them at Lamalmon, and insisted upon his suffering them to depart.

After much altercation with the Shum, on the 4th of February in the morning, they left Addergy. While employed in making ready for their departure, which was just at the dawn of day, a hyæna, unseen by any of them, fastened upon one of Yafine's asses, and had almost pulled his tail away. Mr. Bruce was busied at gathering the tent-pins into a sack, and had placed his musket and bayonet ready against a tree, as it is at that hour, and the close of the evening, you are always to be on your guard against banditti. A boy, who was servant to Yafine, saw the hyæna first, and flew to Mr. Bruce's musket. Yafine was disjoining the poles of the tent, and, having one half of the largest in his hand, he ran to the assistance of his ass, and in that moment, the musket went off, luckily charged only with one ball, which gave Yafine a flesh wound between the thumb and forefinger of his left hand. The boy instantly threw down the musket, which had terrified the hyæna, and made him let go the ass; but he stood ready to fight Yafine, who, not amusing himself with the choice of weapons, gave him for rude a blow with the tent-pole upon his head, that it felled him to the ground; others, with pikes, put an end to his life. They were now obliged to turn their cares towards the wounded. Yafine's wound was soon seen to be a trifle; besides, he was a man not easily alarmed on such occasions. But the poor ass was not so easily comforted. The stump remained, the tail hanging by a piece of it, which they were obliged to cut off. The next operation was actual cautery, but, as they had made no bread for breakfast, their fire had been early out. The therefore were obliged to tie the stump round with a whipcord, till they could get fire enough to heat an iron.

What sufficiently marked the voracity of these beasts, the hyænas, was, that the bodies of their dead companions, which our travellers hauled a long way from them, and left there,

there, were almost entirely eaten by the survivors the next morning: and Mr. Bruce then observed, for the first time, that the hyæna of this country, was a different species from those he had seen in Europe, which had been brought from Asia or America.

On the 4th of February, they continued their journey along the side of a hill, through thick wood and high grass; then descended into a steep, narrow valley, the sides of which had been shaded with high trees, but in burning the grass the trees were consumed likewise; and the shoots from the roots were some of them above eight feet high since the tree had thus suffered that same year.

On the 8th, in the morning, they began ascending Lamalmon, through a very narrow road, or rather path, for it scarcely was two feet wide any where. It was a spiral winding up the side of the mountain, always on the very brink of a precipice. Torrents of water, which in winter carry prodigious stones down the side of this mountain, had divided this path into several places, and opened to our travellers a view of that dreadful abyss below, which few heads can bear to look down upon. They were here obliged to unload their baggage, and, by slow degrees, crawl up a hill, carrying them little by little upon their shoulders, round these chasms where the road was intersected. The mountains grew steeper, the paths narrower, and the breaches more frequent, as they ascended. Scarce were their mules, though unloaded, able to scramble up, but were perpetually falling; and, to increase their difficulties, which, in such cases, seldom come single, a large number of cattle was descending, and seemed to threaten to push them all into the gulf below. After two hours of constant toil, at nine o'clock they alighted in a small plain called Kedus, or St. Michael, from a church and village of that name, neither beast nor man being able to go a step further.

The plain of St. Michael, where they now were, is at the foot of a steep cliff, which terminates the west side of Lamalmon. It is here perpendicular like a wall, and a few trees only upon the top of the cliff. Over this precipice flow

two streams of water, which never are dry, but run in all seasons. They fall into a wood at the bottom of this cliff, and preserve it in continual verdure all the year, though the plain itself below is all rent in chasms, and cracked by the heat of the sun. These two streams form a considerable rivulet in the plain of St. Michael, and are a great relief both to men and cattle, in this tedious and difficult passage over the mountain.

The air of Lamalmon is pleasant and temperate. They here found their appetite return, with a cheerfulness, lightness of spirits, and agility of body, which indicated that their nerves had again resumed their wonted tone, which they had lost in the low, poisonous, and sultry air on the coast of the Red Sea. The sun here is indeed hot, but in the morning a cool breeze never fails, which increases as the sun rises high. In the shade it is always cool.

Lamalmon is the pass through which the road of all caravans to Gondar lies. It is here they take an account of all baggage and merchandize, which they transmit to the Negade Ras, or chief officer of the customs at Gondar, by a man whom they send to accompany the caravan. There is also a present, or awide, due to the private proprietor of the ground; and this is levied with great rigour and violence, and, for the most part, with injustice; so that this station, which, by the establishment of the customhouse, and nearness to the capital, should be in a particular manner attended to by government, is always the place where the first robberies and murders are committed in unsettled times. Though our travellers had nothing with them which could be considered as subject to duty, they submitted every thing to the will of the robber of the place, and gave him his present. If he was not satisfied, he seemed to be so, which was all they wanted.

They had obtained leave to depart early in the morning of the 9th; but it was with great regret they were obliged to abandon their Mahometan friends into hands that seemed disposed to shew them no favour. The king was in Maitsha, or Damot, that is to say, far from Gondar, and various reports were

were spread abroad about the success of the campaign. These people only waited for an unfavourable event to make a pretence for robbing travellers of every thing they had. The persons whose right it was to levy these contributions were two, a father and son; the old man was dressed very decently, spoke little, but smoothly, and had a very good carriage. He professed a violent hatred to all Mahometans, on account of their religion; a sentiment which seemed to promise nothing favourable to their friend Yafine and his companions; but, in the evening, the son, who seemed to be the active man, came to their tent, and brought them a quantity of bread and bouza, which his father had ordered before. He seemed to be much taken with our traveller's fire-arms, and was very inquisitive about them. Mr. Bruce gave him every sort of satisfaction; and, little by little, saw he might win his heart entirely; which he very much wished to do, that he might free his companions from bondage.

The young man, it seems, was a good soldier; and, having been in several actions under Ras Michael, as fusileer, he brought his gun, and insisted on shooting at marks. Mr. Bruce humoured him in this; but as he used a rifle which he did not understand, he found himself overmatched, especially by the greatness of the range, for he shot straight enough. He then shewed him the manner they shot flying, there being quails in abundance, and wild pigeons, of which he killed several on wing, which left him in the utmost astonishment. Having got on horseback, Mr. Bruce next went through the exercise of the Arabs, with a long spear and a short javelin. This was more within his comprehension, as he had seen something like it; but he was wonderfully taken with the fierce and fiery appearance of his horse, and and at the same time with his docility, the form of his saddle, bridle, and accoutrements. He threw at last the sandals off his feet, twisted his upper garment into his girdle, and set off at so furious a rate, that Mr. Bruce could not help doubting whether he was in his sober understanding. It was not long till he came back, and with him a man-servant, carrying a sheep and a goat, and a woman carrying a jar of honey-wine. Mr. Bruce had not yet quitted the horse; and when he saw
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what his intention was, he put Mirza to a gallop, and, with one of the barrels of the gun, shot a pigeon, and immediately fired the other into the ground. There was nothing after this that could have surprised him, and it was repeated several times at his desire; after which he went into the tent, where he invited himself to Mr. Bruce's house at Gondar. There he was to teach him every thing he had seen. They now swore perpetual friendship; and a horn or two of hydromel being emptied, Mr. Bruce introduced the case of his fellow-travellers, and obtained a promise that they should have leave to set out together. He would, moreover, take no awide, and said he would be favourable in his report to Gondar.

Matters were so far advanced, when a servant of Michael's arrived, sent by Petros, Janni's brother, who had obtained him from Ozoro Esther. This put an end to all their difficulties. Our young soldier also kept his word, and a mere trifle of awide was given, rather by the Moor's own desire, than from demand; and the report of the baggage and dues thereon were as low as could be wished. News was now brought them, that Ras Michael had actually beaten Fasil, forced him to retire to the other side of the Nile, and was then in Maitsha, where it was thought he would remain with the army all the rainy season. This was just what Mr. Bruce could have wished, as it brought him at once to the neighbourhood of the sources of the Nile, without the smallest shadow of fear or danger.

On the 9th of February, they took leave of the friends they had so newly acquired at Lamalmon. They began to ascend what still remained of the mountain, which, though steep and full of bushes, was much less difficult than that which they had passed. At a quarter past seven, they arrived at the top of Lamalmon, which has, from below, the appearance of being sharp-pointed. On the contrary, they were much surprised to find there a large plain, part in pasture, but more bearing grain. It is full of springs, and seems to be the great reservoir from whence arise most of the rivers that water this part of Abyssinia. A multitude of streams issue from the very summit in all directions; the

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springs boil out from the earth in large quantities, capable of turning a mill. They plough, sow, and reap here at all seasons; and the husbandman must blame his own indolence, and not the soil, if he has not three harvests. They saw, in one place, people busy cutting down wheat; immediately next to it, others at the plough; and the adjoining field had green corn in the ear: a little further, it was not an inch above the ground.

The mountain is every where so steep and high, that it is not enough to say against the will, but without the assistance of those above, no one from below can venture to ascend. On the top is a large plain, affording plenty of pasture, as well as room for ploughing and sowing for the maintenance of the army; and there is water, at all seasons, in great plenty, and even fish in the streams upon it; so that, although the inhabitants of the mountain had been often besieged, for a considerable time together, they suffered little inconvenience from it, nor ever were taken unless by treason; except by Christopher de Gama and his Portuguese, who are said by their own historians, to have stormed this rock, and put the Mahometan garrison to the sword. No mention of this honourable conquest is made in the annals of Abyssinia, though they give the history of this campaign of Don Christopher in the life of Claudius, or Atzenaf Segued.

On the 10th, in the morning, they continued along the plain on the top of Lamalmon; and, after having suffered, with infinite patience and perseverance, the hardships and danger of this long and painful journey, at forty minutes past ten, they were gratified, at last, with the sight of Gondar, and, in the course of the next day, arrived there.

Abba Salama, of whom we shall hereafter have occasion to speak, at that time filled the post of Acab Saat, or *guardian of the fire*. It is the third dignity of the church, and he is the first religious officer in the palace. He had a very large revenue, and still a greater influence. He was a man exceedingly rich, and of the very worst life possible: though he had taken the vows of poverty and chastity, it was said he had at that time above seventy mistresses in Gondar. His way of seducing women was as extraordinary as the number seduced.

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It was not by gifts, attendance, or flattery, the usual means employed on such occasions; when he had fixed his desires upon a woman, he forced her to comply, under pain of *excommunication*. He was exceedingly eloquent and bold; was a man of a pleasing countenance, short, and of a fair complexion; indifferent, or rather averse to wine, but a monstrous glutton; nice in what he had to eat, to a degree scarcely before known in Abyssinia; a mortal enemy to all white people, whom he classed under the name of franks, for which the Greeks, uniting their interests at favourable times, had often very nearly overset him.

The next morning about ten o'clock, Mr. Bruce, dressed in his moorish dress, went to Ayto Aylo, and found him with several great plates of bread, melted butter and honey, before him, of one of which he and our traveller ate; the rest were given to the Moors, and other people present. There was with him a priest of Koscam, and they all set out for that palace, as soon as they had finished breakfast. They passed the brook of St. Raphael, a suburb of Gondar, where is the house of the Abuna; and, upon coming in sight of the palace of Koscam, they all uncovered their heads, and rode slowly. As Aylo was all-powerful with the Itegehe, indeed her first counsellor and friend, their admittance was easy and immediate. They alighted, and were shown into a low room in the palace. Ayto Aylo went immediately to the Itegehe, or Queen, to inquire about Welled Hawaryat, who was then ill, and his audience lasted two long hours. He returned to them with the news, that Welled Hawaryat was much better, by a medicine a saint from Waldubba had given him, which consisted in some characters written with common ink upon a tin plate, which characters were washed off by a medical liquor, and then given him to drink. It was agreed, however, that the complaint was the small-pox; and the good it had done him was, he ate heartily of *brind*, or raw beef, after it, though he had not ate before since his arrival, but called perpetually for drink.

Mr. Bruce, before he entered on his charge of physician, stated to those present in the palace, the disagreeable task now imposed upon him, a stranger without acquaintance or protection,

tection, having the language but imperfectly, and without power or controul among them. He professed his intention of doing his utmost, although the disease was much more ferious and fatal in this country than in his own; but he insisted one condition should be granted him, which was, that no directions as to regimen or management, even of the most trifling kind, as they might think, should be suffered, without his permission and superintendence, otherwise he washed his hands of the consequence.

This being assented to by all present, Mr. Bruce set the servants to work. There were apartments enough. He opened all the doors and windows, fumigating them with incense and myrrh in abundance, and washed them with warm water and vinegar. The common and fatal regimen in this country, and in most parts in the east, has been to keep their patient from feeling the smallest breath of air; hot drink, a fire, and a quantity of covering are added in Abyssinia, and the doors shut so close as even to keep the room in darkness, whilst this heat is further augmented by the constant burning of candles.

Ayabdar, Ozoro Altash's remaining daughter, and the son of Mariam Barea, were both taken ill at the same time, and happily recovered. A daughter of Kasmati Boro, by a daughter of Kasmati Elhtes, died, and her mother, though she survived, was a long time ill afterwards. Ayabdar was very much marked, so was Mariam Barea's son. At this time, Ayto Confu, son of Kasmati Netcho by Ozoro Esther, had arrived from Tcherkin, a lad of very great hopes, though not then fourteen. He came to see his mother, without my knowledge or her's, and was infected likewise. Last of all, the infant child of Michael, the child of his old age, took the disease, and though the weakest of all the children, recovered best.

The patients, being all likely to do well, were removed to a large house of Kasmati Elhte, which stood still within the boundaries of Koscam, while the rooms underwent another lustration and fumigation; after which they all returned; and Mr. Bruce got, as his fee, a present of the neat and convenient house formerly belonging to Bascha Eusebius, which had a separate entry, without going through the palace.

On the 10th of March, the army marched into the town in triumph, and the Ras at the head of the troops of Tigre. He was bareheaded; over his shoulders, and down to his back, hung a pallium, or cloak, of black velvet, with a silver fringe. A boy, by his right stirrup, held a silver wand of about five feet and a half long, much like the staves of our great officers at court. Behind him, all the soldiers, who had slain an enemy and taken the spoils from them, had their lances and firelocks ornamented with small shreds of scarlet cloth, one piece for every man he had slain. Remarkable among all this multitude was Hagos, door-keeper of the Ras. This man, always well-armed and well mounted, had followed the wars of the Ras from his infancy, and had been so fortunate in this kind of single combat, that his whole lance and javelin, horse and person, were covered over with the shreds of scarlet cloth. At this last battle of Fagitta, Hagos is said to have slain eleven men with his own hand. Indeed, there is nothing more fallacious than judging of a man's courage by these marks of conquests. A good horseman, armed with a coat of mail, upon a strong, well-fed, well-winded horse, may, after a defeat, kill as many of these wretched, weary, naked fugitives, as he pleases, confining himself to those that are weakly, mounted upon tired horses, and covered only with goat's skins, or that are flying on foot.

One thing remarkable in this cavalcade, which Mr. Bruce observed, was the head dress of the governors of provinces. A large broad fillet was bound upon their forehead, and tied behind their head. In the middle of this was a horn, or a conical piece of silver, gilt, about four inches long, much in the shape of our common candle extinguishers. This is called kirn, or horn, and is only worn in reviews or parades after victory. This, Mr. Bruce apprehends, like all other of their usages, is taken from the Hebrews, and the several allusions made in scripture to it arise from this practice:—"I said unto fools, deal not foolishly; and to the wicked, lift not up the horn."—"Lift not up your horn on high; speak not with a stiff neck."—"But my horn shalt thou exalt like the horn of an unicorn."—"And the horn of the righteous shall be exalted with honour." And so in many other places throughout the Psalms.

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Next to these came the king, with a fillet of white muslin about three inches broad, binding his forehead, tied with a large double knot behind, and hanging down about two feet on his back. About him were the great officers of state, such of the young nobility as were without command; and after these, the household troops. Then followed the Kanitz Kitzera, or executioner of the camp, and his attendants; and, last of all, amidst the King's and the Ras's baggage, came a man bearing the stuffed skin of the unfortunate Woosheka upon a pole, which he hung upon a branch of the tree before the king's palace, appropriated for public executions.

It was now the 13th of March, and Mr. Bruce had gone every day once to see the children at Koscam; at all which times, he had been received with the greatest cordiality and marks of kindness by the Iteghe, and orders given for his free admittance, upon all occasions, like an officer of her household.

About the 14th, Mr. Bruce was informed, that all his commendatory letters were to be read. He expected, at the ordinary hour, about five in the afternoon, to be sent for, and had rode out to Koscam with Ayto Heikel, the queen's chamberlain, to see the child, who was pretty well recovered of all its complaints, but very weak. In the interim, Mr. Bruce was sent for to the Ras, with orders to dispatch a man with the king's present, to wait for him at the palace, whither he was to go after leaving Michael. Five in the evening was fixed as the hour. Mr. Bruce came a little before the time, and met Ayto Aylo at the door. He squeezed him by the hand, and said, "Refuse nothing, it can be all altered afterwards; but it is very necessary, on account of the priests and the populace, you should have a place of some authority, otherwise you will be robbed and murdered the first time you go half a mile from home: fifty people have told me, you have chests filled with gold, and that you can make gold, or bring what quantity you please from the Indies; and the reason of all this is, because you refused the queen and Ozoro Esther's offer of gold at Koscam, and which you must never do again."

Our travellers went in and saw the Ras, who was an old man, sitting upon a sofa; his white hair was dressed in many short curls. He appeared to be thoughtful, but not displeas-

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ed ; his face was lean, his eyes quick and vivid, but seemed to be a little sore from exposure to the weather. He seemed to be about six feet high, though his lameness made it difficult to guess with accuracy. His air was perfectly free from constraint, what the French call *degagee*. They must have been bad physiognomists that did not discern his capacity and understanding by his very countenance. Every look conveyed a sentiment with it : he seemed to have no occasion for other language, and indeed he spoke little. Mr. Bruce offered, as usual, to kiss the ground before him ; and of this he seemed to take little notice, stretching out his hand, and shaking Mr. Bruce's upon his rising.

Mr. Bruce sat down with Aylo, three or four of the judges, Heikel the queen's chamberlain, and others, who whispered something in his ear, and went out ; which interruption prevented Mr. Bruce from speaking as he was prepared to do, or giving him his present, which a man held behind him. The Ras began gravely, " Yagoube, I think that is your name, hear what I say to you, and mark what I recommend to you. You are a man, I am told, who make it your business to wander in the fields in search after trees and grass in solitary places, and to sit up all night alone looking at the stars of the heavens. Other countries are not like this, though this was never so bad as it is now. These wretches here are enemies to strangers ; if they saw you alone in your own parlour, their first thought would be how to murder you ; though they knew they were to get nothing by it, they would murder you for mere mischief." " The devil is strong in them," says a voice from a corner of the room, which appeared to be that of a priest. " Therefore (says the Ras,) after a long conversation with your friend Aylo, whose advice I hear you happily take, as indeed we all do, I have thought that situation best which leaves you at liberty to follow your own designs, at the same time that it puts your person in safety ; that you will not be troubled with monks about their religious matters, or in danger from these rascals that may seek to murder you for money."

" What are the monks ?" said the same voice from the corner ; " the monks will never meddle with such a man as this."

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"Therefore, the king (continued the Ras, without taking any notice of the interruption) has appointed you Baalomaal, and to command the Kocob horse, which I thought to have given to Francis, an old soldier of mine ; but he is poor, and we will provide for him better ; for these appointments have honour, but little profit." "Sir, (said Francis, who was in presence, but behind,) it is in much more honourable hands than either mine or the Armenian's, or any other white man's, since the days of Hatze Menas, and so I told the king to-day." "Very well Francis, (says the Ras), it becomes a soldier to speak the truth, whether it makes for or against himself. Go then to the king, and kiss the ground upon your appointment. I see you have already learned this ceremony of ours ; Aylo and Heikel are very proper persons to go with you. The king expressed his surprise to me last night he had not seen you ; and there too is Tecla Mariam, the king's secretary, who came with your appointment from the palace to day." The man in the corner whom Mr. Bruce took for a priest, was this Tecla Mariam, a scribe. Mr. Bruce then gave him a present, after which he soon retired.

Mr. Bruce went afterwards to the king's palace, and met Aylo and Heikel at the door of the presence-chamber. Tecla Mariam walked before them to the foot of the throne ; after which Mr. Bruce advanced and prostrated himself upon the ground. "I have brought you a servant, (says he to the king) from so distant a country, that if you ever let him escape, we shall never be able to follow him, or know where to seek him." To this the king made no reply, nor did he shew any alteration of countenance. Five people were standing on each side of the throne, all young men, three on his left, and two on his right. One of these, the son of Tecla Mariam, (afterwards Mr. Bruce's great friend), who stood uppermost on the left hand, came up, and, taking hold of him by the hand, placed him immediately above him ; when seeing Mr. Bruce had no knife in his girdle, he pulled out his own and gave it to him. Upon being placed, Mr. Bruce again kissed the ground.

The king was in an alcove ; the rest went out of sight from where the throne was, and sat down. The usual questions were now put to Mr. Bruce about Jerusalem and the holy places—Where his country was? which it was impossible

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to describe, as they knew the situation of no country but their own—Why he came so far?—Whether the moon and the stars, but especially the moon, was the same in his country as in theirs? and a great many such idle and tiresome questions. He had several times offered to take his present from the man who held it, that he might offer it to his Majesty and go away; but the king always made a sign to put it off, till, being tired to death with standing, he leaned against the wall. Mr. Bruce was absolutely in despair, and scarcely able to speak a word, inwardly mourning the hardness of his lot in this his first preferment, and sincerely praying it might be his last promotion in that court. However, he was at last permitted to retire.

Mr. Bruce and his friends retired from court, very much disposed to make a hearty supper. In the party was Guebra Mascál, a sister's son of Ras Michael, and commander of 2000 soldiers who carried fire-arms. He was one of the best officers under the Ras, about thirty years of age, of a short square form; and a most unpromising countenance, a flat nose, a wide mouth, a yellow complexion and hideous scars of the small-pox. This hero was unsufferably vain and presumptuous; and boasted that to him his uncle owed all his victories.

While they sat at supper, Guebra Mascál was provoked by Petros to utter some contemptuous language concerning Mr. Bruce's skill in shooting. Mr. Bruce retorted: and told him, that in his gun the end of a tallow-candle would do greater execution than an iron ball in the best of Guebra Mascál's, with all his boasted skill. The Abyssinian called him a liar and a Frank, and, upon his rising, immediately gave him a kick with his foot. Mr. Bruce, in a transport of rage, seized him by the throat, and threw him on the ground. He drew his knife, and, attempting our traveller, gave a slight cut near the crown of the head: hitherto Mr. Bruce had not struck him. He now wrested the knife from him, and struck him on the face so violently with the handle, as to mark him with scars which continued discernible even amid the deep pitting of the small-pox.

All was now confusion and uproar in the house. An adventure of so serious a nature overcame the effects of the wine upon our countryman. He wrapped himself in his cloak, returned

returned home, and went to bed. His friends were eager to revenge the insult which he had received, and the first news he had heard in the morning were, that Guebra Maschal was in irons at the house of the Ras. Mr. Bruce, though still angry, was at a loss what measures to take. The Ras would probably hear his complaints: but his adversary was formidable.

Instead, therefore, of demanding justice, Mr. Bruce excused and palliated the conduct of Guebra Maschal, to Ozoro Esther and Ras Michael, obtained his liberty, and listened readily to the intercession, whom that insolent soldier now sent, in great humiliation, to ask his forgiveness.

A wedding followed next, at the court of Abyssinia, between a grand-daughter of Ras Michael's, and a nobleman of the name of Powassen. This marriage was celebrated with riotous feasting. Mr. Bruce used to dine every day with Michael, and was forced to drink such quantities of mead as always gave him the head-ach. The afternoon was then spent with the ladies, and in such riot and debauchery, that our traveller declares it impossible to convey to a reader any idea of the scenes that passed, in terms of common decency.

Mr. Bruce was sensible that the cause of his quarrel with Guebra Maschal was not immediately forgotten at court. The king, one day, asked him, whether he was not drunk himself, as well as his opponent, when that quarrel rose. Mr. Bruce replied, that he was perfectly sober; for their entertainer's red wine was finished; and he never willingly drank hydromel. His majesty, with a degree of keenness, returned: "Did you then soberly say to Guebra Maschal, that an end of a tallow candle in a gun in your hand would do more execution than an iron bullet in his?" "Certainly, Sir, I said so!" "And why?" "Because it was truth." "With a tallow-candle you can kill a man or a horse." "Pardon me, Sir; your Majesty is now in place of my sovereign, it would be great presumption in me to argue with you, or urge a conversation against an opinion in which you are already fixed." The king's kindness and curiosity, and Mr. Bruce's desire to vindicate himself, carried matters, at length,

length; I proposed Bruce pierced even the ers. A perforate attributee impression traveller.

Mr. Bruce of Abyssinia coast of Abyssinia in strictly to called Tig Between the Galla, there may nor history vinces incl in the second the name,

Maschal of residence there himself summer, alac, then the King a tion in the nagareet, command.

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length, so far, that an experiment with a tallow-candle was proposed. Three courtiers brought each a shield; Mr. Bruce charged his gun with a piece of tallow-candle, and pierced through three at once, to the astonishment, and even the confusion of the Abyssinian Monarch and his courtiers. A sycomore table was next aimed at, and as easily perforated as the shields. These feats the simple Abyssinians attributed to the power of magic. But they made a strong impression on the mind of the monarch, in favour of our traveller.

Mr. Bruce next proceeds to give the geographical division of Abyssinia into provinces. At Masuah, that is, on the coast of the Red Sea, begins an imaginary division of Abyssinia into two, which is rather a division of language than strictly to be understood as territorial. The first division is called *Tigre*, between the Red Sea and the river Tacazze. Between that river and the Nile, westward, where it bounds the Galla, it is called *Amhara*. But whatever convenience there may be from this division, there is neither geographical nor historical precision in it, for there are many little provinces included in the first that do not belong to Tigre; and in the second division, which is Amhara, that which gives the name, is but a very small part of it.

Masuah, in ancient times, was one of the principal places of residence of the Baharnagash, who, when he was not there himself, constantly left his deputy or lieutenant. In summer, he resided for several months in the island of Dahalac, then accounted part of his territory. He was, after the King and Betwudet, the person of the greatest consideration in the kingdom, and was invested with sendic and nagareet, the kettle-drum and colours, marks of supreme command.

Tigre is the next province of Abyssinia, as well for greatness as riches, power and dignity, and nearest Masuah. It is bounded by the territory of the Baharnagash, that is, by the river Mareb on the east, and the Tacazze upon the west. It is about one hundred and twenty miles broad from E. to W. and two hundred from N. to S. This is its present situation. The hand of usurping power has abolished all distinctions

tions on the west side of the Tacazze ; besides, many large governments, such as Enderta and Antalow, and great part of the Baharnagash, were swallowed up in this province to the east. What, in a special manner, makes the riches of Tigre, is, that it lies the nearest the market, which is Arabia ; and all the merchandize destined to cross the Red Sea must pass through this province ; so that the governor has the choice of all commodities wherewith to make his market. The strongest male, the most beautiful female slaves, the purest gold, the largest teeth of ivory, all must pass through his hands, Fire-arms, moreover, which for many years have decided who is the most powerful in Abyssinia, all these come from Arabia, and not one can be purchased without his knowing to whom it goes, and after his having had the first refusal of it.

Sire, a province about twenty-five miles broad, and not much more in length, is reckoned as part of Tigre also ; but this is not a new usurpation. It lost the rank of a province, and was united to Tigre for the misbehaviour of its governor Kasmati Claudius, in an expedition against the Shangalla, in the reign of Yafous the Great.

After passing the Tacazze, the boundary between Sire and Seaman, we come to that mountainous province called by the last name. A large chain of rugged mountains, where is the Jews Rock, reaches from the south of Tigre down near to Waldubba, the low, hot country, that bounds Abyssinia on the north.

On the N. E. of Tigre lies the province of Begemder. It borders upon Angot, whose governor is called Angot Ras ; but the whole province now, excepting a few villages, is conquered by the Galla. It has Amhara, which runs parallel to it, on the south, and is separated from it by the river Bashilo. Both these provinces are bounded by the river Nile on the west. Begemder is about 180 miles in its greatest length, and 60 in breadth, comprehending Lasta, a mountainous province, sometimes depending on Begemder, but often in rebellion.

Begemder is the strength of Abyssinia in horsemen. It is said, that, with Lasta, it can bring out 45,000 men ; but this, as far as ever Mr. Bruce could inform himself, is a great exaggeration.

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aggregation. They are exceeding good soldiers when they are pleased with their general, and the cause for which they fight; otherwise, they are easily divided, a great many private interests being continually kept alive, as it is thought industriously, by government itself. It is well stocked with cattle of every kind, all very beautiful. The mountains are full of iron-mines; they are not so steep and rocky, nor so frequent as in other provinces, if we except only Lasta, and abound in all sort of wild fowl and game.

Amhara is the next province, between the two rivers Bashilo and Geshen. The length of this country from E. to W. is about 120 miles, and its breadth something more than 40. It is a very mountainous country, full of nobility: the men are reckoned the handsomest in Abyssinia, as well as the bravest.

Between the two rivers Geshen and Samba, is a low unwholesome, though fertile province, called Walaka; and southward of that is Upper Shoa. This province, or kingdom, was famous for the retreat it gave to the only remaining prince of the house of Solomon, who fled from the massacre of his brethren by Judith, about the year 900, upon the rock of Damo. Here the royal family remained in security, and increased in number, for near 400 years, till they were restored.

Gojam, from north-east to south-east, is about 80 miles in length and 40 in breadth. It is a very flat country and all in pasture; has few mountains, but these are very high ones, and are chiefly on the banks of the Nile, to the south, which river surrounds the province.

On the south east of the kingdom of Gojam is Damot. It is bounded by the Temci on the east, by the Gult on the west, by the Nile on the south, and by the high mountains of Amid Amid on the north. It is about 40 miles in length from north to south, and something more than 20 in breadth from east to west.

On the other side of Amid Amid is the province of Agows, bounded by those mountains on the east; by Bure and Umbarma,

barma, and the country of the Gongas, on the west; by Damot and Gafat upon the south, and Dingleber on the north.

South from Dembea is Kuara, a very mountainous province confining upon the Pagan blacks, or Shangalla, called Gongas and Guba, the Macrobi of the ancients. It is a very unwholesome province, but abounding in gold, not of its own produce, but that of its neighbourhood, these Pagans—Guba, Nuba, and Shangalla.

Nara, and Ras el Feel, Tchelga, and on to Tcherkin, is a frontier wholly inhabited by Mahometans. Its government is generally given to a stranger, often to a Mahometan, but one of that faith is always deputy-governor. The use of keeping troops here is to defend the friendly Arabs and Shepherds, who remain in their allegiance to Abyssinia, from the resentment of the Arabs of Sennaar, their neighbours; and by means of these friendly Arabs and Shepherds, secure constant supply of horses for the king's troops. It is a barren stripe of a very hot, unwholesome country, full of thick woods, and fit only for hunting. The inhabitants, fugitives from all nations, are chiefly Mahometans, but very bold and expert horsemen, using no other weapon but the broad sword, with which they attack the elephants and rhinoceros. There are many other small provinces, which occasionally are annexed, and sometimes are separated.

The crown of Abyssinia is hereditary, and has always been so, in one particular family, supposed to be that of Solomon by the queen of Saba, Negasta Azab, or queen of the south. It is nevertheless elective in this line; and there is no law of the land, nor custom, which gives the eldest son an exclusive title to succeed to his father. The practice has indeed been quite the contrary. When, at the death of a king, his sons are old enough to govern, and, by some accident, not yet sent prisoners to the mountain, then the eldest, or he that is next, and not confined, generally takes possession of the throne by the strength of his father's friends; but if no heir is then in the low country, the choice of the king is always according to the will of the minister, which

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which passes for that of the people ; and his inclination and interest being to govern, he never fails to choose an infant, whom he afterwards directs, ruling the kingdom absolutely during the minority, which generally exhausts, or is equal to the term of his life.

From this flow all the misfortunes of this unhappy country. This very defect arises from a desire to institute a more than ordinary perfect form of government ; for the Abyssinians, first position was, " Woe be to the kingdom whose king is a child ;" and this they know must often happen when succession is left to the course of nature. But when there was a choice to be made out of two hundred persons, all of the same family, all capable of reigning, it was their own fault, they thought, if they had not always a prince of proper age and qualifications to rule the kingdom, according to the necessities of the times, and to preserve the succession of the family in the house of Solomon, agreeable to the laws of the land ; but this mode of reasoning experience has proved fallacious.

The king is anointed with plain oil of olives, which, being poured upon the crown of the head, he rubs it into his long hair indecently enough with both his hands, pretty much as his soldiers do with theirs when they get access to plenty of butter.

The crown is made in the shape of a priest's mitre, or head piece ; it is a kind of helmet, covering the king's forehead, cheeks, and neck. It is lined with blue taffety ; the outside is half gold and half silver, of the most beautiful fillagane work. The king goes to church regularly, his guards taking possession of every avenue and door through which he is to pass, and nobody is allowed to enter with him, because he is then on foot, excepting two officers of his bed chamber who support him.

He kisses the threshold and side-posts of the church door, the steps before the altar, and then returns home : sometimes there is service in the church, sometimes there is not ; but he takes no notice of the difference. He rides up stairs into the presence chamber on a mule, and lights immediately on the carpet

carpet before his throne ; and Mr. Bruce has sometimes seen great indecencies committed by the said male in the presence chamber, upon a Persian carpet.

The Serach Massery, an officer so called, with a long whip, begins cracking and making a noise, worse than twenty French postillions, at the door of the palace before the dawn of day. This chafes away the hyæna and other wild beasts ; this, too, is the signal for the king's rising, who sits in judgment every morning fasting, and, after that, about eight o'clock, he goes to breakfast.

There are six noblemen of the king's own choosing, who are called Baalomaal, or gentlemen of his bed-chamber : four of these are always with him. There is a seventh, who is the chief of these, called Azeleffa or Camisha, groom of the robe, or stole. He is keeper of the king's wardrobe, and the first officer of the bed-chamber. These officers, the black slaves, and some others, serve him as menial servants, and are in a degree of familiarity with him unknown to the rest of the subjects.

When the king sits to consult upon civil matters of consequence, he is shut up in a kind of box opposite to the head of the council table. The persons that deliberate sit at the table, and, according to their rank, give their voices, the youngest or lowest officer always speaking first. The first that give their votes are the Shalaka, or colonels of the household troops. The second are the great butlers, men that have the charge of the king's drink. The third is the Badjerrind, or keeper of that apartment in the palace called the *lion's house* ; and after these the keeper of the banqueting-house. The next is called Lika Magwafs, an officer that always goes before the king to hinder the pressure of the crowd. In war, when the king is marching, he rides constantly round him, at a certain distance and carries his shield and his lance ; at least he carries a silver shield, and a lance pointed with the same metal, before such kings as do not choose to expose their persons. No prince ever lost his life in battle till the coming of the Europeans into Abyssinia, when both the excommunicating and murdering of their sovereigns seem to have been introduced

at the same time. After the Lika Magwafs comes the Palambaras ; after him the Fit-Auraris ; then the Gera Kasmati, and the Kanya Kasmati, their names being derived from their rank or order in encamping, the one on the right, the other on the left of the king's tent ; Kanya and Gera signifying *the right* and *the left* ; after them the Dakakin Billetana Gueta, or the under chamberlain ; then the secretary for the king's commands ; after him the right and left Azages, or generals ; after them Rak Massery ; after him the basha ; after him Kasmati of Damot, then of Samen, then Amhara, and, last of all, Tigre, before whom stands a golden cup upon a cushion, and he is called Nebrit, as being governor of Axum, or keeper of the book of the law supposed to be there.

After the governor of Tigre comes the Acab Saat, or guardian of the fire, and the chief ecclesiastical officer of the king's household. Some have said, that this officer was appointed to attend the king at the time of eating, and that it was his province to order both meat and drink to be withdrawn whenever he saw the king inclined to excess.

After the Acab Saat, comes the first master of the household ; then the Betwudet, or Ras ; last of all the king gives his sentence, which is final, and sends it to the table, from the balcony where he is then sitting, by the officer called Kall-Hatze.

We meet in Abyssinia with various usages, which many have hitherto thought to be peculiar to those ancient nations in which they were first observed ; others not so learned, have thought they originated in Abyssinia. Mr. Bruce first takes notice of those that regard the king and court.

The kings of Persia, like these we are speaking of, were eligible in one family only, that of the Arsacidæ, and it was not till that race failed, they chose Darius. The title of the king of Abyssinia is, *King of Kings* ; and such Daniel tells us was that of Nebuchadnezzar. The right of primogeniture does not so prevail in Abyssinia as to exclude election in the person of the younger brothers ; and this was likewise the case in

Persia. In Persia a preference was understood to be due to the king's lawful children; but there were instances of the natural child being preferred to the lawful one. Darius, though a bastard, was preferred to Istogius, Xerxes's lawful son, and that merely by the election of the people. The same has always obtained in Abyssinia. A very great part of their kings are adulterous bastards, others are the issue of concubines; but they have been preferred to the crown, by the influence of a party, always under the name of the Voice of the People.

Though the Persian kings had various palaces, to which they removed at different times in the year, Pasagarda, the metropolis of their ancient kings, was observed as the only place for their coronation; and this, too, was the case of Abyssinia, with their metropolis of Axum.

The next remarkable ceremony in which these two nations agreed, is that of adoration, inviolably observed in Abyssinia to this day, as often as you enter the sovereign's presence. This is not only kneeling, but an absolute prostration. You first fall upon your knees, then upon the palms of your hands, then incline your head and body till your forehead touch the earth; and, in case you have an answer to expect, you lie in that posture till the king, or somebody from him, desires you to rise. This, too, was the custom of Persia; Arian says this was first instituted by Cyrus, and this was precisely the posture in which they adored God, mentioned in the book of Exodus.

It is the constant practice in Abyssinia, to beset the king's doors and windows within his hearing, and there, from early morning to night, to cry for justice as loud as possible, in a distressed and complaining tone, and in all the different languages they are masters of, in order to their being admitted to have their supposed grievances heard. In a country so ill governed as Abyssinia is, and so perpetually involved in war, it may be easily supposed there is no want of people, who have real injuries and violence to complain of: But, if it were not so, this is so much the constant usage, that when it happens, (as in the midst of the rainy season) that few people can approach

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proach the capital, or stand without in such bad weather, a set of vagrants are provided, maintained, and paid, whose sole business it is to cry and lament, as if they had been really very much injured and oppressed; and this, they tell you is for the king's honour, that he may not be lonely, by the palace being too quiet. This, of all their absurd customs, was the most grievous and troublesome to Mr. Bruce. Sometimes, while Mr. Bruce was busy in his room in the rainy season, there would be four or five hundred people, who all at once would begin, some roaring and crying, as if they were in pain, others demanding justice, as if they were that moment suffering, or if in the instant to be put to death; and some groaning and sobbing as if just expiring; and this horrid symphony was so artfully performed, that no ear could distinguish but that it proceeded from real distress. Mr. Bruce was often so surprised, as to send the soldiers at the door to bring in one of them, thinking him come from the country, to examine who had injured him: many a time he was a servant of his own, or some other equally known; or, if he was a stranger, upon asking him what misfortune had befallen him, he would answer very composedly, Nothing was the matter with him: that he had been sleeping all day with the horses: that hearing from the soldiers at the door that he, Mr. Bruce, was retired to his apartment, he and his companions had come to cry and make a noise under his window, to do him *honour* before the people, for fear he should be melancholy, by being too quiet when alone; and therefore hoped that he would order them drink, that they might continue with a little more spirit. The violent anger which this often put him into, did not fail to be punctually reported to the king, at which he would laugh heartily; and he himself was often hid, not far off, for the sake of being a spectator of his heavy displeasure.

Xerxes, being about to declare war against the Greeks, assembled all the principal chiefs of Asia in council. "That I may not, says he, be *thought to act* only by my own judgment, I have called you together. At the same time, I think proper to intimate to you, that it is your duty to obey my will, rather than enter into any deliberation or remonstrances of your own."

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We will now compare some particulars, the dress and ornaments of the two kings. The king of Abyssinia wears his hair long; so did the ancient kings of Persia. A comet had appeared in the war with Persia, and was looked upon by the Romans as a bad omen. Vespasian laughed at it, and said, if it portended any ill, it was to the king of Persia, because, *like him*, it wore long hair.

The diadem was, with the Persians, a mark of royalty, as with the Abyssinians, being composed of the same materials, and worn in the same manner. The king of Abyssinia wears it, while marching, as a mark of sovereignty, that does not impede or incommode him, as any other heavier ornament would do, especially in hot weather. This fillet surrounds his head above the hair, leaving the crown perfectly uncovered. It is an offence of the first magnitude for any person, at this time, to wear any thing upon his head, especially white, unless for Mahometans, who wear caps, and over them a large white turban; or for priests, who wear large turbans of muslin also. This was the diadem of the Persians, as appears from Lucian, who calls it a white fillet about the forehead. The kings of Abyssinia anciently sat upon a gold throne, which is a large, convenient, oblong, square seat, like a small bedstead, covered with Persian carpets, damask, and cloth of gold, with steps leading up to it. It is still richly gilded; but the many revolutions and wars have much abridged their ancient magnificence. It is, in Abyssinia, high-treason, to sit upon any seat of the king's; and he that presumed to do this, would be instantly hewn to pieces, if there was not some other collateral proof of his being a madman.

It is probable that Alexander had heard of this law in Persia, and disapproved of it; for one day, it being extremely cold, the king sitting in his chair before the fire, warming his legs, saw a soldier, probably a Persian, who had lost his feeling by extreme numbness. The king immediately leaped from his chair, and ordered the soldier to be set down upon it. The fire soon brought him to his senses, but he had almost lost them again with fear, by finding himself in the king's seat. To whom Alexander said, "Remember, and distinguish, how much more advantageous to man my government is, than that of

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of the kings of Persia. By sitting down on my seat you have saved your life ; by sitting on theirs, you would infallibly have lost it."

In Abyssinia it is considered as a fundamental law of the land, that none of the royal family, who has any deformity or bodily defect, shall be allowed to succeed to the crown ; and, for this purpose, any of the princes, who may have escaped from the mountain of Wechne, and who are afterwards taken, are mutilated in some of their members, that thus they may be disqualified from ever succeeding. In Persia the same was observed. Procopius tells us, that Zames, the son of Cabades, was excluded from the throne because he was blind of one eye ; the law of Persia prohibiting any person that had a bodily defect to be elected king.

The kings of Abyssinia were seldom seen by the people. This absurd usage gave rise to many abuses. In Persia it produced two officers, who were called the king's eyes, and the king's ear, and who had the dangerous employment. Mr. Bruce means dangerous for the subject, of seeing and hearing for their sovereign. In Abyssinia it created an officer called the king's mouth, or voice ; for, being seen by nobody, he spoke of course in the third person, *Hear what the king says to you*, which is the usual form of all regal mandates in Abyssinia, and what follows has the force of law.

Solemn hunting matches were always in use both with the kings of Abyssinia and those of Persia. In both kingdoms it was a crime for a subject to strike the game till such time as the king had thrown his lance at it. This absurd custom was repealed by Artaxerxes Longimanus in one kingdom, and by Yafous the Great in the other, so late as the beginning of the last century.

The kings of Abyssinia are above all laws. They are supreme in all causes ecclesiastical and civil : the land and persons of their subjects are equally their property, and every inhabitant of their kingdom is born their slave ; if he bears a higher rank, it is by the king's gift ; for his nearest relations are accounted nothing better. The same obtained in Persia. There

There are several kinds of bread in Abyssinia, some of different sorts of teff, and some of tocusso, which also vary in quality. The king of Abyssinia, eats of wheat bread, though not of every wheat, but of that only that grows in the province of Dembea, therefore called the king's food. It always has been, and still is the custom of the kings of Abyssinia, to marry what number of wives they choose; that these were not, therefore, all queens; but that among them there was one who was considered particularly as queen, and upon her head was placed the crown; and she was called Iteghe. Thus, in Persia, we read that Ahasuerus loved Esther, who had found grace in his sight more than the other virgins, and he had placed a golden crown upon her head. And Josephus informs us, that when Esther was brought before the king, he was exceedingly delighted with her, and made her his lawful wife, and when she came into the palace he put a crown upon her head: whether placing the crown upon the queen's head had any civil effect as to regency in Persia, as it had in Abyssinia, is what history does not inform us.

The king of Abyssinia never is seen to walk, nor to set his foot upon the ground, out of his palace; and when he would dismount from the horse or mule on which he rides, he has a servant with a stool, who places it properly for him for that purpose. He rides into the anti-chamber to the foot of the throne, or to the stool placed in the alcove of his tent. He very often judges capital crimes himself. No man is condemned by the king in person to die for the first fault, unless the crime be of a horrid nature, such as parricide or sacrilege. And, in general, the life and merits of the prisoner are weighed against his immediate guilt; so that if his first behaviour has had more merit towards the state than his present delinquency has thought to have injured it, the one is placed fairly against the other, and the accused is generally absolved when the sovereign judges alone. Darius had condemned Sandeces, one of the king's judges, to be crucified for corruption, that is, for having given false judgment for a bribe. The man was already hung up on the cross, when the king, considering with himself how many good services he had done, previous to this, the only offence which he had committed, ordered him to be pardoned.

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The Persian king, in all expeditions, was attended by judges. We find in Herodotus, that, in the expedition of Cambyſes, ten of the principal Egyptians were condemned to die by theſe judges for every Perſian that had been ſlain by the people of Memphis. Six judges always attended the king of Abyſſinia to the camp, and, before them, rebels taken on the field are tried and puniſhed on the ſpot. People that the king diſtinguiſhed by favour, or for any public action, were in both kingdoms preſented with gold chains, ſwords, and bracelets. Theſe, in Abyſſinia, are underſtood to be chiefly rewards of military ſervice; yet Poncet received a gold chain from Yaſous the Great. The day before the battle of Serbraxos, Ayton Engeden received a ſilver bridle and ſaddle, covered with ſilver plates, from Ras Michael.

In Abyſſinia, when a priſoner is condemned in capital caſes, he is not again remitted to priſon, which is thought cruel, but he is immediately carried away, and the ſentence executed upon him. Abba Salama, the Acab Saat, was condemned by the king the morning he entered Gondar, on his return from Tigre, and immediately hanged, in the garment of a prieſt, on a tree at the door of the king's palace. Chremation, brother to the uſurper Socinios, was executed that ſame morning: Guebra Denghel, Ras Michael's ſon-in-law, was likewiſe executed that ſame day, immediately after judgment; and ſo were ſeveral others. The ſame was the practice in Perſia, as we learn from Xenophon, and more plainly from Diodorus.

The capital puniſhment, in Abyſſinia, is the croſs. Socinios firſt ordered Arzo, his competitor, who had fled for aſſiſtance and refuge to Phineas king of the Falasha, to be crucified without the camp. We find the ſame puniſhment inflicted by Artaxerxes upon Haman, who was ordered to be affixed to the croſs till he died.

The next capital puniſhment is ſlaying alive. That this barbarous execution ſtill prevails in Abyſſinia is proved by the fate of the unfortunate Woosheka, taken priſoner in the campaign of 1769, while Mr. Bruce was in Abyſſinia; a ſacrifice

rifice made to the vengeance of the beautiful Ozoro Esther; who, kind and humane as she was in other respects, could receive no atonement for the death of her husband.

Lapidation or stoning to death is the next capital punishment in Abyssinia. This is chiefly inflicted upon strangers called *Franks*, for religious causes. The catholic priests in Abyssinia that have been detected there, in these latter days, have been stoned to death, and their bodies lie still in the streets of Gondar, in squares or waste places, covered with the heaps of stones which occasioned their death by being thrown at them. There are three of these heaps at the church of Abbo, all covering Franciscan friars; and, besides them, a small pyramid over a boy who was stoned to death with them, about the first year of the reign of David IV. In Persia we find that Pagorastus (according to Ctesias) was stoned to death by the order of the king; and the same author says, that Pharnacyas, one of the murderers of Xerxes, was stoned to death likewise.

Among capital punishments may be reckoned likewise the plucking out of the eyes, a cruelty which Mr. Bruce had but too often seen committed in the short stay he made in Abyssinia. This is generally inflicted upon rebels. After the slaughter of the battle of Fagitta, twelve chiefs of the Pagan Galla, taken prisoners by Ras Michael, had their eyes torn out, and were afterwards abandoned to starve in the valleys below the town. Several prisoners of another rank, noblemen of Tigre, underwent the same misfortune; and what is wonderful, not one of them died in the operation, nor its consequences, though performed in the coarsest manner, with an iron forceps, or pincers.

The dead bodies of criminals slain for treason, murder and violence, on the high-way, at certain times, are seldom buried in Abyssinia. The streets of Gondar are strewn with pieces of their carcases, which bring the wild beasts in multitudes into the city as soon as it becomes dark, so that it is scarcely safe for any one to walk in the night. The dogs used
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to bring pieces of human bodies into the house, and courtyard, to eat them in greater security.

Notwithstanding the Abyssinians were so anciently and nearly connected with Egypt, they never seem to have made use of paper, or papyrus, but imitated the practice of the Persians, who wrote upon skins; and they do so to this day. This arises from their having early been Jews. In Parthia, likewise, Pliny informs us, the use of papyrus was absolutely unknown; and though it was discovered that papyrus grew in the Euphrates, near Babylon, of which they could make paper, they obstinately rather choose to adhere to their ancient custom of weaving their letters on cloth, of which they made their garments. The Persians, moreover, made use of parchment for their records, to which all their remarkable transactions were trusted; and to this it is probably owing we have so many of their customs preserved to this day.

From this great resemblance in customs between the Persians and Abyssinians, following the fashionable way of judging about the origin of nations, one should boldly conclude, that the Abyssinians were a colony of Persians; but this is very well known to be without foundation. The customs, mentioned as only peculiar to Persia, were common to all the east; and they were lost when those countries were over-run and conquered by those who introduced barbarous customs of their own. The reason why we have so much left of the Persian customs is, that they were written, and so not liable to alteration; and, being on parchment, did also contribute to their preservation. The history which treats of those ancient and polished nations has preserved few fragments of their manners entire from the ruins of time; while Abyssinia, at war with nobody, or at war with itself only, has preserved the ancient customs which it enjoyed in common with all the east, and which were only lost in other kingdoms by the invasion of strangers, a misfortune Abyssinia has never suffered since the introduction of letters.

The old Egyptians, as we are told by sacred scripture, did not eat with strangers; but perhaps the observation is extended farther than ever scripture meant, 'The instance given
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of Joseph's brethren not being allowed to eat with the Egyptians was, because Joseph had told Pharoah that his brethren, and Jacob his father, were shepherds, that he might get from the Egyptians the land of Goshen, a land, as the name imports, of pasturage and grass, which the Nile never overflowed, and it was therefore in possession of the shepherds. Now the shepherds, we are told, were the direct natural enemies of the Egyptians who live in towns. The shepherds also sacrificed the god whom the Egyptians worshipped.

The Egyptians worshipped the cow, and the shepherds lived upon her flesh, which made them a separate people, that could not eat nor communicate together; and the very knowledge of this was, as we are informed by scripture, the reason why Joseph told Pharoah, when he asked him what profession his brethren were of, "Your servants, (says Joseph) are shepherds, and their employment the feeding of cattle;" and this was given out, that the land of Goshen might be allotted to them, and so they and their descendants be kept separate from the Egyptians, and not exposed to mingle in their abominations; or, though they had abstained from those abominations, they could not kill cattle for sacrifice or for food. They would have raised ill-will against themselves, and, as Moses says, would have been stoned, and so the end of bringing them to Goshen would have been frustrated, which was to nurse them in a plentiful land, in peace and security, till they should attain to be a mighty people, capable of subduing and filling the land, to which, at the end of their captivity, God was to lead them.

The Abyssinians neither eat nor drink with strangers, though they have no reason for this; and it is now a mere prejudice, because the old occasion for this regulation is lost. They break or purify, however, every vessel a stranger of any kind shall eat or drink in. The custom then is copied from the Egyptians, and they have preserved it, though the Egyptian reason does no longer hold.

The Egyptians made no account of the mother what her state was; if the father was free, the child followed the condition of the father. This is strictly so in Abyssinia. The king's

king's child by a negro-slave, bought with money, or taken in war, is as near in succeeding to the crown, as any one of twenty children that he has older than that one, and born of the noblest women of the country.

The men in Egypt did neither buy nor sell; the same is the case in Abyssinia at this day. It is infamy for a man to go to market to buy any thing. He cannot carry water or bake bread; but he must wash the clothes belonging to both sexes, and in this function, the women cannot help him. In Abyssinia the men carried their burdens on their heads, the women on their shoulders, and this difference we are told, obtained in Egypt. It is plain, that this buying, in the public market, by women, must have ended whenever jealousy or sequestration of that sex began; for this reason it ended early in Egypt; but, for the opposite reason, it subsists in Abyssinia to this day. It was a sort of impiety in Egypt to eat a calf; and the reason was plain, they worshipped the cow. In Abyssinia, to this day, no man eats veal, although every one very willingly eats a cow. The Egyptian reason no longer subsists, as in the former case, but the prejudice remains, though they have forgotten their reason.

The Abyssinians eat no wild or water fowl, not even the goose, which was a great delicacy in Egypt. The reason of this is, that, upon their conversion to Judaism, they were forced to relinquish their ancient municipal customs, as far as they were contrary to the Mosaic law; and the animals, in their country, not corresponding in form, kind, or name, with those mentioned in the Septuagint, or original Hebrew, it has followed, that there are many of each class that know not whether they are clean or not; and a wonderful confusion and uncertainty has followed through ignorance or mistake, being unwilling to violate the law in any one instance through not understanding it.

Mr. Bruce has mentioned, in the course of the narrative of his journey from Masuah, that, at a small distance from Axum, he overtook on the way three travellers, who seemed to be soldiers, driving a cow before them. They halted at a brook, threw down the beast, and one of them cut a pretty large

large collop of flesh from its buttocks, after which they drove the cow gently on as before. A violent outcry was raised in England at hearing this circumstance, which they did not hesitate to pronounce *impossible*, when the manners and customs of Abyssinia were to them utterly unknown. The Jesuits, established in Abyssinia for above a hundred years, had told them of that people eating, what they call raw meat, in every page, and yet they were ignorant of this.

It must be from prejudice alone we condemn the eating of raw flesh ; no precept, divine or human, forbids it ; and if it be true, as later travellers have discovered, that there are nations ignorant of the use of fire, any law against eating raw flesh could never have been intended by God as obligatory upon mankind in general. At any rate, it is certainly not clearly known, whether the eating raw flesh was not an earlier and more general practice than by preparing it with fire ; many wise and learned men have doubted, whether it was at first permitted to man to eat animal food at all. God, the author of life, and the best judge of what was proper to maintain it, gave this regimen to our first parents—" Behold, I have given you every herb bearing seed, which is upon the face of all the earth, and every tree, in the which is the fruit of a tree yielding seed : to you it shall be for meat." And though, immediately after, he mentions both beasts and fowls, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth, he does not say that he has designed any of these as meant for man. On the contrary, he seems to have intended the vegetable creation as food for both man and beast—" And to every beast of the earth, and to every fowl of the air, and to every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein *there is life*, I have given every green herb for meat : and it was so." After the flood, when mankind began to repossess the earth, God gave Noah a much more extensive permission :—" Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you ; even as the green herb have I given you all things."

Saul's army, after a battle, *slew*, that is, fell voraciously upon the cattle they had taken, and threw them upon the ground to cut off their flesh, and eat them raw, so that the army was defiled by eating blood, or living animals. To prevent

prevent this, Saul caused to be rolled to him a great stone, and ordered those that killed their oxen to cut their throats upon that stone. This was the only lawful way of killing animals for food; the tying of the ox and throwing it upon the ground was not permitted as equivalent. The Israelites did probably in that case, as the Abyssinians do at this day; they cut a part of its throat, so that blood might be seen upon the ground, but nothing mortal to the animal followed from that wound. But, after laying his head upon a large stone, and cutting his throat, the blood fell from on high, or was poured on the ground like water, and sufficient evidence appeared the creature was dead, before it was attempted to eat it. We have seen that the Abyssinians came from Palestine a very few years after this; and we are not to doubt, that they then carried with them this, with many other Jewish customs, which they have continued to this day.

Consistent with the plan of this work, which is to describe the manners of the several nations through which Mr. Bruce passed, good and bad, as he observed them, he says, he cannot avoid giving some account of this Polyphemus banquet, as far as decency will permit him; it is part of the history of a barbarous people; and Mr. Bruce says, however he might wish it, he cannot decline it.

In the capital, where one is safe from surprise at all times, or in the country or villages, when the rains have become so constant that the valleys will not bear a horse to pass them, or that men cannot venture far from home, through fear of being surrounded and swept away by temporary torrents, occasioned by sudden showers on the mountains; in a word, when a man can say he is safe at home, and the spear and shield is hung up in the hall, a number of people of the best fashion in the villages, of both sexes, courtiers in the palace, or citizens in the town, meet together to dine between twelve and one o'clock. A long table is set in the middle of a large room, and benches beside it for a number of guests who are invited. Tables and benches the Portuguese introduced amongst them; but bull hides, spread upon the ground, served them before, as they now do in the camp and country. A cow or bull, one or more, as the company is numerous, is brought close to

the door, and his feet strongly tied. The skin that hangs down under his chin and throat, is cut only so deep as to arrive at the fat, of which it totally consists, and, by the separation of a few small blood-vessels, six or seven drops of blood only fall upon the ground. They have no stone, bench, nor altar upon which these cruel assassins lay the animal's head in this operation. Mr. Bruce begs his pardon indeed for calling him an assassin, as he is not so merciful as to aim at the life, but, on the contrary, to keep the beast alive till he be nearly eaten up. Having satisfied the Mosaical law, according to his conception, by pouring these six or seven drops upon the ground, two or more of them fall to work; on the back of the beast, and on each side of the spine, they cut skin deep; then putting their fingers between the flesh and the skin, they begin to strip the hide of the animal half way down his ribs, and so on to the buttock, cutting the skin wherever it hinders them commodiously to strip the poor animal bare. All the flesh on the buttocks is then cut off, and in solid, square pieces, without bones, or much effusion of blood; and the prodigious noise the animal makes, is a signal for the company to sit down to table.

There are then laid before every guest, instead of plates, round cakes, if they may be so called, about twice as big as a pan cake, and something thicker and tougher. It is unleavened bread of a sourish taste, far from being disagreeable, and very easily digested, made of a grain called teff. It is of different colours, from black to the colour of the whitest wheat bread. Three or four of these cakes are generally put uppermost, for the food of the person opposite to whose seat they are placed. Beneath these are four or five of ordinary bread, and of a blackish kind. These serve the master to wipe his fingers upon, and afterwards the servant for bread to his dinner. Two or three servants then come each with a square piece of beef in their bare hands, laying it upon the cakes of teff, placed like dishes down the table, without cloth or any thing else beneath them. By this time all the guests have knives in their hands, and their men have the large hooked ones, which they put to all sorts of uses during the time of war. The women have small clasped knives, such as the worst of the kind made at Birmingham, sold for a penny

penny each. The company are so ranged, that one man sits between two women; the man with his long knife cuts a thin piece, which would be thought a good beef-steak in England, while you see the motion of the fibres yet perfectly distinct, and alive in the flesh. No man in Abyssinia, of any fashion whatever, feeds himself, or touches his own meat. The women take the steak and cut it length-ways like strings, about the thickness of a little finger, then cross-ways into square pieces, something smaller than dice. This they lay upon a piece of the teff bread, strongly powdered with black pepper, or Cayenne pepper, and fossile salt; they then wrap it up in teff bread like a cartridge.

In the mean time, the man having put up his knife, with each hand resting upon his neighbour's knee, his body stooping, his head low and forward, and mouth open very like an idiot, he turns to the one whose cartridge is first ready, who stuffs the whole of it into his mouth, which is so full that he is in constant danger of being choaked. This is a mark of grandeur. The greater the man would seem to be, the larger piece he takes in his mouth; and the more noise he makes in chewing it, the more polite he is thought to be. They have indeed, a proverb that says, "Beggars and thieves only eat small pieces or without making a noise." Having dispatched this morsel, which he does very expeditiously, his next female neighbour holds forth another cartridge, which goes the same way, and so on till he is satisfied. He never drinks till he has finished eating; and before he begins, in gratitude to the fair one that fed him, he makes up two small rolls of the same kind and form; each of his neighbours open their mouths at the same time, while with each hand he puts their portion into their mouths. He then falls to drinking out of a large handsome horn; the ladies eat till they are satisfied, and then all drink together. A great deal of mirth and joke goes round, very seldom with any mixture of acrimony or ill humour.

During all this time, the unfortunate victim at the door is bleeding indeed, but bleeding little. As long as they can cut off the flesh from his bones, they do not meddle with the thighs, or the parts where the great arteries are. At last, they fall

fall upon the thighs likewise; and soon after, the animal bleeding to death, becomes so tough, that the cannibals, who have the rest of it to eat, find very hard work to separate the flesh from the bones with their teeth like dogs.

In the mean time, those within are very much elevated; love lights all its fires, and every thing is permitted with absolute freedom. There is no coyness, no delays, no need of appointments or retirement, to gratify their wishes; there are no rooms but one, in which they sacrifice both to Bacchus and to Venus.

Although we read from the Jesuits a great deal about marriage and polygamy, yet there is nothing which may be averred more truly, than that there is no such thing as marriage in Abyssinia, unless that which is contracted by mutual consent, without other form, subsisting only till dissolved by dissent of one or other, and to be renewed or repeated as often as it is agreeable to both parties, who, when they please, cohabit together again as man and wife, after having been divorced, had children by others, or whether they have been married, or had children with others or not. Mr. Bruce remembers to have once been at Koscam in presence of the Iteghe, when in the circle, there was a woman of great quality, and seven men who had all been her husbands, none of whom was the happy spouse at that time.

Upon separation they divide the children. The eldest son falls to the mother's first choice, and the eldest daughter to the father. If there be but one daughter, and all the rest sons, she is assigned to the father. If there be but one son, and all the rest daughters, he is the right of the mother. If the numbers are unequal after the first election, the rest are divided by lot. There is no such distinction as legitimate and illegitimate children, from the king to the beggar; for supposing any one of their marriages valid, all the issue of the rest must be adulterous bastards.

Ras Michael one day asked Mr. Bruce, before Abba Salama, (the Acab Saat) whether such things as these promiscuous marriages and divorces were permitted and practised in his country? He excused himself till he was no longer able;
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and, upon his insisting, he was obliged to answer, that even if scripture had not forbidden it, as Christians, as Englishmen, the law restrained them from such practices, by declaring polygamy felony, or punishable by death.

The king in his marriage uses no other ceremony than this: He sends an Azage to the house where the lady lives, where the officer announces to her, It is the king's pleasure, that she should remove instantly to the palace. She then dresses herself in the best manner, and immediately obeys. Thenceforward he assigns her an apartment in the palace, and gives her a house elsewhere in any part she chooses. Then, when he makes her Iteghe, it seems to be the nearest resemblance to marriage; for, whether in the court or the camp, he orders one of the judges to pronounce in his presence, that he, the king, has chosen his hand-maid, naming her for his queen; upon which the crown is put upon her head, but she is not anointed.

The crown being hereditary in one family, but elective in the person, and polygamy being permitted, must have multiplied these heirs very much, and produced constant disputes, so that it was found necessary to provide a remedy for the anarchy and effusion of royal blood, which was otherwise inevitably to follow. The remedy was a humane and gentle one: they were confined in a good climate upon a high mountain, and maintained there at public expense. They are taught to read and write, but nothing else; 750 cloths for wrapping round them, 3000 ounces of gold, which is 30,000 dollars, or crowns, are allowed by the state for their maintenance. These princes are hardly used, and, in troublesome times, often put to death upon the smallest misinformation. While Mr. Bruce was in Abyssinia, their revenue was so grossly misapplied, that some of them were said to have died with hunger and of cold, by the avarice and hard-heartedness of Michael neglecting to furnish them necessaries. Nor had the king, as far as ever Mr. Bruce could discern, that fellow-feeling one would have expected from a prince, rescued from that very situation himself: however that be, and however distressing the situation of those princes, we cannot but be satisfied with it, when we look to the neighbouring kingdom

kingdom of Sennaar, or Nubia. There no mountain is trusted with the confinement of their princes ; but, as soon as the father dies, the throats of all the collaterals, and all their descendants, that can be laid hold of, are cut, and this is the case with all the black states in the desert west of Sennaar, Dar Fowr, Sele, and Bagirma.*

In speaking of the military force of this kingdom, great exaggerations have been used. The largest army that ever was in the field, was that in the rebellion before the battle of Serbraxos. When they first encamped upon the lake Tzana, the rebel army altogether might amount to about 50,000 men. In about a fortnight afterwards, many had deserted ; and Mr. Bruce does not think (for he speaks only by hearsay) that, when the king marched out of Gondar, they were then above 30,000. When Gojam joined, and it was known that Michael and his army increased to above 60,000 men ; cowards and brave, old and young, veteran soldiers and blackguards, all came to be spectators of that desirable event, which many of the wisest had despaired of living to see. The king's army, perhaps never amounted to 26,000 men ; and by desertion and other causes, when they retreated to Gondar, Mr. Bruce does not suppose the army was 16,000, mostly from the province of Tigre. Fasil, indeed, had not joined ; and putting his army of 12,000 men, it does not appear that any king of Abyssinia ever commanded 40,000 effective men at any time, or upon any cause whatever, exclusive of his household troops.

Their standards are large slaves, surmounted at the top with a hollow ball ; below this is a tube in which the staff is fixed ; and immediately below the ball, a narrow stripe of silk

* Dr. Johnson's beautiful tale of Rasselas Prince of Abyssinia, where warmth of imagination, correct reasoning, and an extensive knowledge of the general manners of mankind, and of the various appearances of human life, are so eminently displayed, has already rendered this custom of the Abyssinian empire very generally known to English readers. He has converted the dreary mountain into a happy valley. He has excluded the real evils to which the confined princes are exposed, but has a sufficient resource in *ennui* to embitter their enjoyments. The translation of Lobo's voyage was among Dr. Johnson's first literary efforts ; but the information communicated by the Jesuit appears to have made a deep impression on his mind. The story of Rasselas, and the account of Seguid's vain resolution to dedicate a few days to happiness, in an island in the lake Dombea, are striking and noble proofs of this.

silk made forked, or swallow-tailed, like a vane, and seldom much broader. The standards of the infantry have their flags painted two colours crossways—yellow, white, red, or green. The horse have all a lion upon their flag, some a red, some a green, and some a white lion. The black horse have a yellow lion, and over it a white star upon a red flag, alluding to two prophecies, the one, “Judah is a young lion,” and the other, “There shall come a star out of Judah.” This had been discontinued for want of cloth till the war of Begemder, when a large piece was found in Joas’s wardrobe, and was thought a certain omen of his victory, and of a long and vigorous reign. This piece of cloth was said to have been brought from Cairo by Yafous II. for the campaign of Sennaar, and, with the other standards and colours, was surrendered to the rebels when the king was made prisoner.

The king’s household troops should consist of about 8000 infantry, 2000 of which carry firelocks, and supply the place of archers; bows have been laid aside for near a hundred years, and are only now used by the Waito Shangalla, and some other barbarous inconsiderable nations. These troops are divided into four companies, each under an officer called Shalaka, which answers to our colonel. Every twenty men have an officer, every fifty a second, and every hundred a third; that is, every twenty have one officer who commands them, but is commanded likewise by an officer who commands the fifty; so that there are three officers who command fifty men, six command a hundred, and thirty command five hundred, over whom is the Shalaka; and this body they call Bet, which signifies a *house*, or *apartment*, because each of them goes by the name of one of the king’s apartments. For example, there is an apartment called Anbasa Bet, or the *lion’s house*, and a regiment carrying that name has the charge of it, and their duty is at that apartment, or that part of the palace where it is; there is another called Jan Bet, or the *elephant’s house*, that gives the name to another called Werk Sacala, or the *gold house*, which gives its name to another corps; and so on with the rest.

There are four regiments, that seldom, if ever, amounted to 1600 men, which depend alone upon the king, and are all foreigners,

foreigners, at least the officers ; these have the charge of his person while in the field. In times, when the king is out of leading strings, they amount to four or five thousand, and then oppress the country, for they have great privileges. At times, when the king's hands are weak, they are kept incomplete out of fear and jealousy.

Before the king marches, three proclamations are made. The first is, " Buy your mules, get ready your provision, and pay your servants : for, after such a day, they that seek me here shall not find me." The second is about a week after, or according as the exigency is pressing ; this is, " Cut down the kantuffa in the four quarters of the world, for I do not know where I am going." This kantuffa is a terrible thorn which very much molests the king and nobility in their march, by taking hold of their long hair, and the cotton cloth they are wrapped in. The third and last proclamation is, " I am encamped upon the Angrab, or Kahha ; he that does not join me there, I will chastise him for seven years." Mr. Bruce was long in a doubt what this term of seven years meant, till he recollected the jubilee-year of the Jews, with whom seven years was a prescription of offences, debts, and all trespasses.

The rains generally cease the eighth of September ; a sickly season follows till they begin again about the 20th of October ; they then continue pretty constant but moderate in quantity, till Hedar St. Michael, the eighth of November. All epidemic diseases cease with the end of these rains, and it is then the armies begin to march.

Mr. Bruce next proceeds to speak of the state of religion in Abyssinia, where there are more churches than in any other country, and, though it is very mountainous, and consequently the view much obstructed, it is very seldom you see less than five or six churches ; and, if you are on a commanding ground, five times that number. Every great man that dies thinks he has atoned for all his wickedness if he leaves a fund to build a church, or has built one in his life time. The king builds many. Wherever a victory is gained, there a church is erected in the very field stinking with the putrid bodies of
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the rain. Formerly this was only the case when the enemy was Pagan or Infidel; now the same is observed when the victories are over Christians. The situation of a church is always chosen near running water, for the convenience of their purifications and ablutions, in which they observe strictly the Levitical law. They are always placed upon the top of some beautiful round hill, which is surrounded entirely with rows of the oxycedrus, or Virginia cedar, which grows here in great beauty and perfection, and is called *Arz*. There is nothing adds so much to the beauty of the country as these churches and the plantations about them. In the middle of this plantation of cedars is interspersed, at proper distances, a number of those beautiful trees called *Cusso*, which grow very high, and are all extremely picturesque.

The churches are all round, with thatched roofs; their summits are perfect cones; the outside is surrounded by a number of wooden pillars, which are nothing else than the trunks of the cedar-tree, and are placed to support the edifice, about eight feet of the roof projecting beyond the wall of the church, which forms an agreeable walk, or colonnade around it in hot weather, or in rain. The inside of the church is in several divisions, according as is prescribed by the law of Moses. The first is a circle somewhat wider than the inner one; here the congregation sit and pray. Within this is a square, and that square is divided by a veil or curtain, in which is another very small division answering to the holy of holies. This is so narrow, that none but the priests can go into it. You are bare-footed, whenever you enter the church, and if bare-footed, you may go through every part of it, if you have any such curiosity, provided you are pure, that is, have not been concerned with women for twenty four hours before, or touched carrion or dead bodies, (a curious assemblage of ideas) for in that case you are not to go within the precincts, or outer circumference of the church, but stand and say your prayers at an awful distance among the cedars.

Every person of both sexes, under Jewish disqualifications, are obliged to observe this distance; and this is always a place belonging to the church, where, unless in Lent, you see the greatest part of the congregation; but this is left to your

own conscience, and, if there was either great inconvenience in the one situation, or great satisfaction in the other, the case would be otherwise.

On your first entering the church, you put off your shoes; but you must leave a servant there with them, or else they will be stolen, if good for any thing, by the priests and monks, before you come out of the church. At entering you kiss the threshold, and the two door posts, go in and say what prayer you please; that finished, you come out again, and your duty is over. The churches are full of pictures, painted on parchment, and nailed upon the walls, in a manner little less slowly than you see paltry prints in beggarly country ale-houses. There has been always a sort of painting known among the scribes, a daubing much inferior to the worst of our sign-painters. Sometimes, for a particular church, they get a number of pictures of saints, on skins of parchment, ready finished from Cairo, in a stile very little superior to these performances of their own. They are placed like a frieze, and hung in the upper part of the wall. St. George is generally there with his dragon, and St. Demetrius fighting a lion. There is no choice in their saints, they are both of the Old and New Testament, and those that might be dispensed with from both. There is St. Pontious Pilate and his wife; there is St. Balaam and his ass; Samson and his jaw-bone; and so of the rest. But the thing that surprised Mr. Bruce most, was a kind of square miniature upon the front of the head piece, or mitre, of the priest, administering the sacrament at Adowa, representing Pharoah on a white horse plunging in the Red Sea, with many guns and pistols swimming upon the surface of it around him.

Nothing embossed, nor in relief, ever appears in any of their churches; all this would be reckoned idolatry, so much so that they do not wear a cross, as has been represented, on the top of the ball of the staff, or standard, because it casts a shade; but there is no doubt that pictures have been used in their churches from the very earliest age of Christianity.

The articles of the faith of the Abyssinians have been inquired into and discussed with so much keenness in the beginning

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of this century, that Mr. Bruce fears he should disoblige some of his readers were he to pass this subject without notice.

Their first bishop, Frumentius, being ordained about the year 333, and instructed in the religion of the Greeks of the church of Alexandria by St. Athanasius, then sitting in the chair of St. Mark, it follows that the true religion of the Abyssinians, which they received on their conversion to Christianity, is that of the Greek church; and every rite or ceremony in the Abyssinian church may be found and traced up to its origin in the Greek churches while both of them were orthodox. Frumentius preserved Abyssinia untainted with heresy till the day of his death. We find from a letter preserved in the works of St. Athanasius, that Constantius, the heretical Greek Emperor, wished St. Athanasius to deliver him up, which, that patriarch refused to do: indeed at that time, it was not in his power.

Soon after this, Arianism, and a number of other heresies, each in their turn, were brought by the monks from Egypt, and infected the church of Abyssinia. A great part of these heresies, in the beginning, were certainly owing to the difference of the languages in those times, and especially the two words Nature and Person; than which no two words were ever more equivocal in every language in which they have been translated.

It was settled by the first general council, that one baptism only was necessary for the regeneration of man, for freeing him from the sin of our first parents, and lifting him under the banner of Christ. "I confess one baptism for the remission of sins," says the Symbol. It was maintained by the Jesuits, that in Abyssinia, once every year, they baptised all grown people, or adults. Mr. Bruce here relates what he himself saw on the spot.

The small river, running between the town of Adowa and the church, had been dammed up for several days; the stream was scanty, so that it scarcely overflowed. It was in places three feet deep, in some, perhaps, four, or little more. Three large tents were pitched the morning before the feast
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of the Epiphany ; one on the north for the priests to repose in during intervals of the service, and, beside this, one to communicate in : on the south there was a third tent for the monks and priests of another church to rest themselves in their turn. About twelve o'clock at night, the monks and priests met together, and began their prayers and psalms at the water side, one party relieving each other. At dawn of day, the governor, Welleta Michael, came thither with some soldiers to raise men for Ras Michael, then on his march against Waragna Fasil, and sat down on a small hill by the water side, the troops all skirmishing on foot and on horse-back around them.

As soon as the sun began to appear, three large crosses of wood were carried by three priests dressed in their sacerdotal vestments, and who, coming to the side of the river, dip the cross into the water, and all this time the firing, skirmishing, and praying, went on together. The priests with their crosses returned, one of their number before them carrying something less than an English quart of water in a silver cup or chalice : when they were about fifty yards from Welleta Michael, that general stood up, and the priest took as much water as he could hold in his hands and sprinkled it upon his head, holding the cup at the same time to Welleta Michael's mouth to taste ; after which the priest received it back again, saying, at the same time, "Gzier y'barak," which is simply, "May God bless you." Each of the three crosses were then brought forward to Welleta Michael, and he kissed them. The ceremony of sprinkling the water was then repeated to all the great men in the tent, all cleanly dressed as in gala. Some of them, not contented with aspersion, received the water in the palms of their hands joined, and drank it there : more water was brought for those that had not partaken of the first ; and after the whole of the governor's company was sprinkled, the crosses returned to the river, their bearers singing *halelujahs*, and the skirmishing and firing continuing.

Mr. Bruce observed, that, a very little time after the governor had been sprinkled, two horses and two mules, belonging to Ras Michael and Ozoro Esther, came and were washed.

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Afterwards the soldiers went in and bathed their horses and guns; those who had wounds bathed them also. Heaps of platters and pots, that had been used by Mahometans or Jews, were brought thither likewise to be purified; and thus the whole ended.

Mr. Bruce saw this ceremony performed afterwards at Kahha, near Gondar, in presence of the king, who drank some of the water, and was sprinkled by the priests; then took the cup in his hand, and threw the rest that was left upon Amha Yafous, saying, "I will be your deacon;" and this was thought a high compliment, the priest giving him his blessing at the same time, but offering him no more water.

Mr. Bruce then mentions the account given of this by Alvarez, chaplain to the Portuguese embassy, under Don Roderigo de Lima.

The king had invited Don Roderigo de Lima, the Portuguese ambassador, to be present at the celebration of the festival of the Epiphany. They went about a mile and a half from their former station, and encamped upon the side of a pond which had been prepared for the occasion. Alvarez says, that, in their way, they were often asked by those they met or overtook, "Whether or not they were going to be baptised?" to which the chaplain and his company answered in the negative, as having been already once baptised in their childhood. In the night (says he) a great number of priests assembled about the pond, roaring and singing with a view of blessing the water. After midnight the baptism began. The Abuna Mark, the king and queen, were the first that went into the lake; they had each a piece of cotton cloth about their middle, which was just so much more than the rest of the people had. At the sun-rising the baptism was most thronged; after which, when Alvarez came, the lake was full of holy water, into which they had poured oil.

It should seem, from this outset of his narrative, that he was not at the lake till the ceremony was half over, and did not see that benediction of the water at all, nor the curious exhibition of the king, queen, and Abuna, and their cotton cloths.

The Abyssinians receive the holy sacrament in both kinds in unleavened bread, and in the grape bruised with the husk together as it grows, so that is a kind of marmalade, and is given in a flat spoon: whatever they may pretend, some mixture seems necessary to keep it from fermentation in the state that it is in, unless the dried cluster is fresh bruised just before it is used, for it is little more fluid than the common marmalade of confectioners; but it is perfectly the grape as it grew, bruised stones and skin together. Some means, however, have been used, as Mr. Bruce supposes, to prevent fermentation, and make it keep; and though this is constantly denied, he has often thought he tasted a flavour that was not natural to the grape itself.

It is a mistake that there is no wine in Abyssinia; for a quantity of excellent strong wine is made at Dreeda, south-west from Gondar, about thirty miles, which would more than supply the quantity necessary for the celebration of the eucharist in all Abyssinia twenty times over. The people themselves are not fond of wine, and plant the vine in one place only; and in this they have been imitated by the Egyptians, their colony; but a small black grape, of an excellent flavour, grows plentifully wild in every wood in Tigre.

Large pieces of bread are given to the communicants in proportion to their quality; and Mr. Bruce has seen great men, who, though they opened their mouths as wide as a man conveniently can do, yet from the respect the priests bore him, such a portion of the loaf was put into his mouth that water ran from his eyes, from the incapacity of chewing it; which, however, he does as indecently, and with full as much noise, as he eats at table.

After receiving the sacrament of the eucharist in both kinds, a pitcher of water is brought, of which the communicant drinks a large draught; and well he needs it, to wash down the quantity of bread he has just swallowed. He then retires from the steps of the inner division upon which the administering priest stands, and, turning his face to the wall of the church, in private says some prayer, with seeming decency and attention.

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The Romanists doubt of the validity of the Abyssinian consecration of the elements, because in their liturgy it is plainly said, "Lord, put thy hand upon this cup, and bless it, and sanctify it, and purify it, that in it may be made thy holy blood;" and of the bread they say, "Bless this saucer, or plate, that in it may be made thy holy body." And in their prayer they say, "Change this bread, that it may be made thy pure body, which is joined with this cup of thy precious blood." The Jesuits doubt of the validity of this consecration, because it is said, "this *bread* is my body," and over the wine, "this *cup* is my blood;" whereas, to operate a true transubstantiation, they should say over the bread, "this is my body."

Mr. Bruce finishes this subject by an anecdote that happened a few months before his coming into Abyssinia, as it was accidentally told him by the priest of Adowa, the very day of the Epiphany, and which Janni vouched to be true, and to have seen.

The Sunday after Ras Michael's departure for Gondar from Adowa, he went to church in great pomp, and there received the sacrament. There happened to be such a crowd to see him, that the wine, part of the consecrated elements, was thrown down and spilt upon the steps whereon the communicants stood at receiving. Some straw or hay was instantly gathered and sprinkled upon it to cover it, and the communicants continued the service till the end, treading that grass under foot,

This giving great offence to Janni, and some few priests that lived with him, it was told Michael, who, without explaining himself, said only, "As to the fact of throwing the hay, they are a parcel of hogs, and know no better." These few words had stuck in the stomach of the priest of Adowa, who, with great secrecy, and as a mark of friendship, begged Mr. Bruce would give him his opinion what he should have done, or rather, what would have been done in his country? Mr. Bruce told him, that the answer to his question depended upon two things, which, being known, his difficulties would

would be very easily solved. "If you do believe that the wine spilt by the mob upon the steps, and trodden under foot afterwards, was really the blood of Jesus Christ, then you was guilty of a most horrid crime, and you should cry upon the mountains to cover you; and ages of atonement are not sufficient to expiate it. You should in the mean time, have railed the place round with iron, or built it round with stone, that no foot, or any thing else but the dew of heaven, could have fallen upon it, or you should have brought in the river upon the place that would have washed it all to the sea, and covered it ever after from sacrilegious profanation. But if, on the contrary, you believe, (as many christian churches do) that the wine (notwithstanding consecration) remained in the cup nothing more than wine, but was only the symbol, or type, of Christ's blood of the New Testament, then the spilling it upon the steps, and the treading upon it afterwards, having been merely accidental, and out of your power to prevent, being so far from your wish that you are heartily sorry that it happened, I do not reckon that you are further liable in the crime of sacrilege, than if the wine had not been consecrated at all. You are to humble yourself, and sincerely regret that so irreverent an accident happened in your hands, and in your time; but as you did not intend it, and could not prevent it, the consequence of an accident, where inattention is exceedingly culpable, will be imputed to you, and nothing further."

The priest declared to Mr. Bruce, with the greatest earnestness, that he never did believe that the elements in the eucharist were converted by consecration into the real body and blood of Christ. He said, however, that he believed this to be the Roman Catholic faith, but it never was his; and that he conceived the bread was bread, and the wine was wine, even after consecration. From this example, which occurred mere accidentally, and was not the fruit of interrogation or curiosity, it appears to Mr. Bruce, whatever the Jesuits say, some at least among the Abyssinians do not believe the real presence in the eucharist; but further our traveller is not enough informed to give a positive opinion.

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The Abyssinians are not all agreed about the state of souls before the resurrection of the body. The opinion which generally prevails is, that there is no third state; but that, after the example of the thief, the souls of good men enjoy the beatific vision immediately upon the separation from the body. But their practice and books both contradict this; for, as often as any person dies, alms are given, and prayers are offered for the souls of those departed, which would be vain did they believe they were already in the presence of God, and in possession of the greatest bliss possible, wanting nothing to complete it.

The circumcision of the Abyssinians is performed with a sharp knife, or razor. There is no laceration with the nails, no formula or repetition of words, nor any religious ceremony at the time of the operation, nor is it done at any particular age, and generally it is a woman that is the surgeon. The Falasha say they perform it sometimes with the edge of a sharp stone, sometimes with a knife or razor, and at other times with the nails of their fingers; and for this purpose they have the nails of their little fingers of an immoderate length: at the time of the operation the priest chants a hymn, or verse importing, "Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hast ordained circumcision!" This is performed on the eighth day, and is a religious rite, according to the first institution by God to Abraham.

All the inhabitants of the globe agree in considering it shameful to expose the private part of their body, even to men; and in the east, where, from climate, you are allowed, and from respect to your superiors, the generality of men are forced to go naked, all agree in covering their waist, which is called their *nakedness*, though it is really the only part of their body that is covered.

Circumcision having no natural cause or advantage, being in itself repugnant to man's nature, and extremely painful, if not dangerous, it could never originate in man's mind wantonly, and out of free will. It might have done so indeed from imitation, but with Abraham it had a cause, as God was
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to make his private family in a few years numerous, like the sands of the sea. This mark, which separated them from all the world, was an easy way to shew whether the promise was fulfilled or not. They were going to take possession of a land where circumcision was not known, and this shewed them their enemy distinct from their own people.

There is another ceremony, which regards the women also, and which Mr. Bruce calls *incision*. This is an usage frequent, and still retained among the Jews, though positively prohibited by the law: "Thou shalt not cut thy face for the sake of, or on account of the dead." As soon as a near relation dies in Abyssinia, a brother or parent, cousin-german or lover, every woman in that relation, with the nail of her little finger, which she leaves long on purpose, cuts the skin of both her temples, about the size of a sixpence; and therefore you see either a wound or a scar in every fair face in Abyssinia; and in the dry season, when the camp is out, from the loss of friends, they seldom have liberty to heal till peace, and the army return with the rains.

The Abyssinians, like the ancient Egyptians, their first colony, computing their time, have continued the use of the solar year. Diodorus Siculus says, "They do not reckon their time by the moon, but according to the sun; that thirty days constitute their month, to which they add five days and the fourth part of a day, and this completes their year."

It is uncertain whence they derived the names of their months; they have no signification in any of the languages of Abyssinia. The name of the first month among the old Egyptians has continued to this day. It is Tot, probably so called from the first division of time among the Egyptians, from observation of the heliacal rising of the dog-star. The names of the months retained in Abyssinia are possibly in antiquity prior to this; they are probably those given them by the Cushite, before the Kalendars at Thebes and Meroc, their colony were formed.

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The Abyssinians have another way of describing time, peculiar to themselves; they read the whole of the four evangelists every year in their churches. They begin with Matthew, then proceed to Mark, Luke, and John, in order; and when they speak of an event, they write and say it happened in the days of Matthew, that is, in the first quarter of the year, while the gospel of St. Matthew was yet reading in the churches. They compute the time of the day in a very arbitrary, irregular manner. The twilight is very short, almost imperceptible, and was still more so when the court was removed farther to the southward in Shoa. As soon as the sun falls below the horizon, night comes on, and all the stars appear. This term, then, the twilight, they choose for the beginning of their day, and call it Naggé, which is the very time the twilight of the morning lasts. The same is observed at night, and Meset is meant to signify the instant of beginning the twilight, between the sun's falling below the horizon and the stars appearing. Mid-day is by them called *Kater*, a very old word, which signifies *culmination*, or a thing's being arrived or placed at the middle or highest part of an arch. All the rest of times, in conversation, they describe by pointing at the place in the heavens where the sun then was, when what they are describing happened.

Mr. Bruce concludes what further he has to say on this subject, by observing, that nothing can be more inaccurate than all Abyssinian calculations. Besides their absolute ignorance in arithmetic, their excessive idleness and aversion to study, and a number of fanciful, whimsical combinations, by which every particular scribe or monk distinguishes himself, there are obvious reasons why there should be a variation between their chronology and ours. The beginning of our years are different; ours begins on the 1st of January, and theirs on the 1st day of September, so that there are 8 months difference between us. The last day of August may be the year 1780 with us, and 1779 only with the Abyssinians. And in the reign of their kings, they very seldom mention either month or day beyond an even number of years. Supposing then, it is known that the reign of ten kings extended from
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such to such a period, where all the months and days are comprehended, when we come to assign to each of these an equal number of years, without the correspondent months and days, it is plain that, when all these separate reigns come to be added together, the one sum-total will not agree with the other, but will be more or less than the just time which that prince reigned. This, indeed, as errors compensate full as frequently as they accumulate, will seldom amount to a difference above three years, a space of time too trivial to be of any consequence in the history of barbarious nations,

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BOOK VI.

FIRST ATTEMPT TO DISCOVER THE SOURCE OF THE NILE
FRUSTRATED: A SUCCESSFUL JOURNEY THITHER,
WITH A FULL ACCOUNT OF EVERY THING RE-
LATING TO THAT CELEBRATED RIVER.

ONE day, when Mr. Bruce was at court, he met Tecla Mariam, the King's Secretary, who, taking him by the hand, said, with a laughing countenance, "Oh ho, I wish you joy; this is like a man; you are now no stranger but one of us; why was not you at court?" Mr. Bruce said he had no particular business there, but that he came thither to see Ayto Confu, that he might speak in favour of Yafine to get him appointed deputy of Ras el Feel. "Why don't you appoint him yourself? (says he) what has Confu to do with the affair now? You don't intend always to be in leading strings? You may thank the king for yourself, but I would never advise you to speak one word of Yafine to him; it is not the custom; you may, if you please, to Confu, he knows him already. His estate lies all around you, and he will enforce your orders, if there should be any need."

"Pardon me, Tecla Mariam, (said Mr. Bruce) if I do not understand you. I came here to solicit for Yafine, that Confu or his successor would appoint him their deputy, and you
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answer that you advise me to appoint him myself." "And so I do, (replied Tecla Mariam) who is to appoint him but you? You are governor of Ras el Feel; are you not?" Mr. Bruce stood motionless with astonishment. "It is no great affair, (said he) and I hope you will never see it. It is a hot, unwholesome country, full of Mahometans; but its gold is as good as any Christian gold whatever. I wish it had been Bégemder with all my heart, but there is a good time coming."

Mr. Bruce, after having recovered himself a little from his surprise, went to Ayto Confu to kiss his hand as his superior, but this he would by no means suffer him to do. A great dinner was provided them by the Iteghé; and Yafine being sent for, was appointed, clothed, that is invested, and ordered immediately to Ras el Feel to his government, to make peace with the Daveina, and bring all the horses he could get with him from thence, or from Atbara. The having thus provided for Yafine, and secured, as he thought, a retreat to Sennaar for himself, gave him the first real pleasure that he had received since his landing at Masuah; and that day, seeing himself in company with all his friends, and the hopes of this country, for the first time since his arrival in Abyssinia, he abandoned himself to joy.

His constitution was, however, too much weakened to bear any excesses. The day after, when he went home to Einfras, he found himself attacked with a slow fever, and, thinking that it was the prelude of an ague, with which he was often tormented, he fell to taking bark, without any remission, or, where the remission was very obscure, he shut himself up in the house, upon his constant regimen of boiled rice, with abundant draughts of cold water.

A commotion arose about this time, at Gondar, on account of a religious dispute. Mr. Bruce was led to hasten thither by hearing that his friend Tecla Mariam, and his daughter of the same name, one of the most beautiful women in Abyssinia had both been taken ill. Soon after his arrival, he learned that the origin of the dispute and the quarrel which it occasioned, was a question concerning the fate of Nebuchadnezzar.

war,—Whether he was now a Saint in Heaven, or burning in hell fire with Dathan and Aberam? He was at the same time informed, that, however indifferent he might be about the matter in dispute, he would not be easily able to avoid declaring his sentiments, nor escape danger, whatever these might be. His friends, accordingly, insisted on attending him, to protect them in the streets; and Ayto Aylo and Ayto Heikel accompanied him to Tecla Mariam's. Neither that nobleman nor his daughter was very much indisposed. Some other friends were with him, and the evening was accordingly passed in great festivity.

Next day Mr. Bruce waited on the king. One of the first questions his majesty put to him was, whether or not Nebuchadnezzar were a Saint? Mr. Bruce first declined to give his opinion; and when urged, declared against the monarch of Babylon. His majesty then produced so many reasons in Nebuchadnezzar's favour, that Mr. Bruce could no longer insist on his damnation. Tecla Mariam soon after came in; and Mr. Bruce took the first opportunity of mentioning Nebuchadnezzar to *him*; and his friend, the secretary's sentiments concerning the merits of that hero, were not more favourable or more settled than his own, and that Ras Michael was about to take a very expeditious and efficacious method of terminating the dispute. A proclamation was soon after issued, ordering the monks and other disorderly persons, who had resorted to the city on this occasion, to be gone, and announcing, that four hundred Galla were to patrol and scour the streets at night, and that others were to watch and clear the roads. This put a speedy end to the concern for Nebuchadnezzar, and the impertinences of the Monks.

At this time a piece of bad news was circulated at Gondar, that Kasmati Boro, whom the Ras had left governor at Darnot, had been beaten by Fasil, and obliged to retire to his own country in Gojam, to Stadis Amba, near the passage of the Nile, at Miné; and that Fasil, with a much larger army of Galla than that he had brought to Fagitta, had taken possession of Buré, the usual place of his residence. This being privately talked of as true, Mr. Bruce asked Kessa Yafous in confidence what he knew of it. Upon its being confirmed,
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he could not disguise his sorrow, as he was convinced that unexpected turn of affairs would be an invincible obstacle to his reaching the source of the Nile. "You are mistaken, (says Kessa Yafous) it is the best thing that could happen to you. Why you desire to see those places I do not know; but this I am sure of, you never will arrive there with any degree of safety while Fasil commands. He is as perfect a Galla as ever forded the Nile; he has neither word, nor oath, nor faith that can bind; he does mischief for mischief's sake, and then laughs at it."

After Fasil's defeat at Fagitta, and the affront he received at Assoa in the heart of his own country, he had continued his route to Buré, a district of the Agows, where was his constant residence. After this he had crossed the Nile into the country of Bizamo, and Boro de Gago had taken up his residence at Buré, when Michael returned to Gondar; but no sooner had he heard of his arrival in those parts, than he marched with a number of horse, and forced his rival to retire to Gojam.

A very obstinate battle was fought at Banja, in which the Agows were entirely defeated by Fasil, seven of their chiefs killed, all men of great consequence, among whom was Ayamico, a very near relation of the king. The news was first brought by a son of Nanna Georgis, chief of the Agows, who escaped from the battle. Michael was at dinner, and Mr. Bruce was present. It was one of his carousals for the marriage of Powussen, when young Georgis came into the room, in a torn and dirty habit, unattended, and almost unperceived, and presented himself at the foot of the table. Michael had then in his hand a cup of gold, it being the exclusive privilege of the governor of the province of Tigré to drink out of such a cup; it was full of wine; before a word was spoken, and upon the first appearance of the man, he threw the cup and wine upon the ground, and cried out, "I am guilty of the death of these people." Every one arose, the table was removed, and Georgis told his misfortune, that Nanna Georgis, his father, Zeegam Georgis, the next in rank among them, Ayamico the king's relation, and four other chiefs,

chiefs, were slain at Banja, and their race nearly extirpated by a victory gained with much bloodshed, and after cruelly pursued in retaliation for that of Fagitta.

A council was immediately called, where it was resolved, that, though the rainy season was at hand, the utmost expedition should be made to take the field; that Gusho and Powussen should return to their provinces, and increase their army to the utmost of their power; that the king should take the low road by Foggoro and Dara, there to join the troops of Begemder and Amhara, cross the Nile at the mouth of the lake, above the second cataract, as it is called, and march thence straight to Buré, which, by speedy marches, might be done in five or six days. No resolution was ever embraced with more alacrity; the cause of the Agows was the cause of Gondar, or famine would else immediately follow. The king's troops and those of Michael were already, and had just refreshed themselves by a week's festivity.

Gusho and Powussen, after having sworn to Michael that they would never return without Fasil's head, decamped next morning, with very different intentions in their hearts; for no sooner had they reached Begemder than they entered into a conspiracy in form against Michael, which they had long meditated; they had resolved to make peace with Fasil, and swear with him a solemn league, that they were but to have one cause, one council, and one interest, till they had deprived Michael of his life and dignity.

All this time Mr. Bruce found himself declining in health, to which the irregularities of the last week had greatly contributed. The king and Ras had sufficiently provided tents and conveniencies for him, yet he wanted to construct for himself a tent, with a large slit in the roof, that he might have an opportunity of taking observations with his quadrant, without being inquieted by troublesome or curious visitors. He therefore obtained leave from the king to go to Emfras, a town about 20 miles south from Gondar, where a number of Mahometan tent makers lived. Gusho had a house there, and a pleasant garden, which he very willingly gave Mr. Bruce the use of, with this advice, however, which at the time he did
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not understand, rather to go on to Amhara with him, for he would there sooner recover his health, and be more in quiet, than with the king or Michael. As the king was to pass immediately under this town, and as most of those that loaded and unloaded his tents and baggage were Mahometans, and lived at Enfras, he could not be better situated, or more at his liberty and ease than there.

After having taken his leave of the king and the Ras, he paid the same compliment to the Iteghé at Koscam. That excellent princess endeavoured much to dissuade Mr. Bruce from leaving Gondar. She treated the intention of going to the source of the Nile as a fantastical folly, unworthy of any man of sense or understanding, and very earnestly advised him to stay under her protection at Koscam, till he saw whether Ras Michael and the king would return, and then take the first good opportunity of returning to his own country through Tigré, the way that he came, before any evil should overtake him.

Mr. Bruce excused himself the best he could. It was not easy to do it with any degree of conviction, to people utterly unlearned, and who knew nothing of the prejudice of ages in favour of the attempt he was engaged in. He therefore turned the discourse to professions of gratitude for benefits that he had every day received from her, and for the very great honour that she then did him, when she condescended to testify her anxiety concerning the fate of a poor unknown traveller like him, who could not possibly have any merit but what arose from her own gracious and generous sentiments, and universal charity, that extended to every object in proportion as they were helpless.

Gondar the metropolis of Abyssinia, is situated upon a hill of considerable height, the top of it nearly plain, on which the town is placed. It consists of about ten thousand families in times of peace; the houses are chiefly of clay, the roofs thatched in the form of cones, which is always the construction within the tropical rains. On the west end of the town is the king's house, formerly a structure of considerable consequence; it was a square building, flanked with square towers;

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ers; it was formerly four stories high, and, from the top of it, had a magnificent view of all the country southward to the lake Tzana. Great part of this house is now in ruins, having been burnt at different times; but there is still ample lodging in the two lowest floors of it, the audience-chamber being above one hundred and twenty feet long.

Gondar, by a number of observations of the sun and stars made by day and night, in the course of three years, with an astronomical quadrant of three feet radius, and two excellent telescopes, and by a mean of all their small differences, is in lat. $12^{\circ} 34' 30''$; and by many observations, Mr. Bruce concluded its longitude to be $37^{\circ} 33' 0''$ east from the meridian of Greenwich.

On the 4th of April, 1770, at eight o'clock in the morning, Mr. Bruce set out from Gondar, and the next day he arrived at Emfras, after a very pleasant, though not interesting excursion. The town is situated on a steep hill, and the way up to it is almost perpendicular like the ascent of a ladder. The houses are all placed about the middle of the hill, fronting the west, in number about 300. Above these houses are gardens, or rather fields, full of trees and bushes, without any sort of order, up to the very top. Emfras commands a view of the whole lake of Tzana, and part of the country on the other side. It was once a royal residence. On the hill is a house of Hatzé Hannes, in form of a square tower, now going fast to ruin. Emfras is in lat. $12^{\circ} 12' 38''$ N. and long, $37^{\circ} 38' 30''$ E. of the meridian of Greenwich.

The lake of Tzana is much the largest expanse of water known in that country. Its extent, however, has been greatly exaggerated. Its greatest breadth is 35 miles; but it decreases greatly at each extremity, where it is not sometimes above ten miles broad. Its greatest length is 49 miles from north to south, and which extent this lake has in length. In the dry months, from October to March, the lake shrinks greatly in size; but after that all those rivers are full which are on every side of it, and fall into the lake like radii drawn to a center, then it swells, and extends itself into the plain country, and has of course a much larger surface.

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On the 12th of May our travellers heard the king had marched to Tedda, and on the 13th, they heard the king's kettle drums. Forty five of these instruments constantly go before him, beating all the way while he is on his march. The Mahometan town near the water was plundered in a minute; but the inhabitants had long before removed every thing valuable.

On the 14th, at day break, Mr. Bruce mounted his horse, with all his men servants, leaving the women servants and an old man to take care of the house. It was very unsafe to travel in such company at such an hour. Early as it was, the king was then in council, and Ras Michael, who had his advisers assembled also in his tent, had just left it to go to the king's. There was about 500 yards between their tents, and a free avenue is constantly left, in which it is a crime to stand, or even to cross, unless for messengers sent from the one to the other.

In his progress towards the sources of the Nile, our traveller again joined the king. But he continued not with the army; as that would have interfered with the accomplishment. The unsettled state of the government, the confusion and disorder which, in a season of civil war, naturally prevailed among such ferocious and disorderly people, rendered our traveller's journey extremely dangerous, notwithstanding all the protection which the king, the Ras, and all the principal people of the court were disposed to give. In one place he was nearly attacked and rifled by two men, nephews to the Iteghé, whom he had formerly known in the household. One of his Greeks was very severely handled by those men; and in his indignation and discontent, would gladly have persuaded his master to return, without exploring the sources of the Nile. As the party advanced, our traveller happened to meet with a man, in the service of Re Shum, or governor of the village of Alata, who instantly recollected him, and reminded him of his having seen him at Jidda, in the company of his English friends there.

Mr. Bruce now approached to the great cataract of Alata. The first thing our traveller was shewn was the bridge, which
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consists of one arch of about twenty-five feet broad. Fragments of the parapets remained; and the bridge itself seemed to bear the appearance of frequent repairs, and many attempts to ruin it; otherwise, in its construction, it was exceedingly commodious. The Nile here is confined between two rocks, and runs in a deep trough, with great roaring and impetuous velocity. They were told no crocodiles were ever seen so high, and were obliged to remount the stream above half a mile before they came to the cataract, through trees and bushes of a beautiful and delightful appearance.

The cataract itself was the most magnificent sight that Mr. Bruce ever beheld. The height has been rather exaggerated. The missionaries say the fall is about sixteen ells, or fifty feet. The measuring is, indeed, very difficult; but, by the position of long sticks, and poles of different lengths, at different heights of the rock, from the water's edge, Mr. Bruce thinks he may venture to say that it is nearer forty feet than any other measure. The river had been considerably increased by rains, and fell in one sheet of water without any interval, above an English mile in breadth, with a force and noise that was truly terrible, and which stunned and made him, for a time perfectly dizzy. A thick fume, or haze, covered the fall all round, and hung over the course of the stream both above and below, marking its tract, though the water was not seen. The river, though swelled with rain, preserved its natural clearness, and fell, as far as he could discern, into a deep pool, or basin in the solid rock, which was full, and in twenty different eddies to the very foot of the precipice, the stream, when it fell, seeming part of it to run back with great fury upon the rock, as well as forward in the line of its course, raising a wave or violent ebullition, by chaffing against each other.

Jerome Lobo pretends, that he has sat under the curve or arch, made by the projectile force of the water rushing over the precipice. He says he sat calmly at the foot of it, and looking through the curve of the stream, as it was falling, saw a number of rainbows of inconceivable beauty in this extraordinary prism. This, however, Mr. Bruce, without hesitation, avers to be a downright falsehood. A deep pool of water

water reaches to the very foot of the rock, and is in perpetual agitation. Now, allowing that there was a seat or bench, which there is not, in the middle of the pool, it is absolutely impossible, by any exertion of human strength, to have arrived at it. Although a very robust man, in the prime and vigour of life, and a hardy, practised, indefatigable swimmer, Mr. Bruce is perfectly confident he could not have got to that seat from the shore through the quietest part of that basin. It was a most magnificent sight, that ages, added to the greatest length of human life, would not deface or eradicate from Mr. Bruce's memory; it struck him with a kind of stupor, and a total oblivion of where he was, and of every other sublunary concern. It was one of the most magnificent, stupendous sights in the creation, though degraded and vilified by the lies of a groveling, fanatic peasant.

The reader will, perhaps, be pleased to read what Lobo says in his own words. 'Fifteen miles farther, in the land of Alata, it rushes precipitately from the top of a high rock, and forms one of the most beautiful waterfalls in the world. I passed under it without being wet, and resting myself there, for the sake of the coolness, was charmed with a thousand delightful rainbows, which the sun-beams painted on the water in all their shining and lively colours. The fall of this mighty stream, from so great a height, makes a noise that may be heard at a considerable distance. But I could not observe that the neighbouring inhabitants were all deaf. I conversed with several; and was heard by them as easily as I heard them. The mist that rises from this fall of water, may be seen much farther than the noise can be heard. After this cataract, the Nile again collects its scattered stream among the rocks, &c.'

On the 22d of May our travellers were all equally desirous to resume their journey. They set out accordingly at six o'clock in the morning, ascending some hills covered with trees and shrubs of inexpressible beauty, and many of extraordinary fragrance. They continued ascending about three miles, till they came to the top of the ridge within sight of the lake. As they rose, the hills became more bare and less beautiful.

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After Mr. Bruce had passed the Nile, he found himself more than ordinarily depressed; his spirits were sunk almost to a degree of despondency, and yet nothing had happened since that period more than was expected before. This disagreeable situation of mind continued at night while he was in bed. The rashness and imprudence with which he had engaged himself in so many dangers without any necessity for so doing; the little prospect of his being ever able to extricate himself out of them, or even if he lost his life, of the account being conveyed to his friends at home; the great and unreasonable presumption which had led him to think that, after every one that had attempted this voyage had miscarried in it, he was the only person that was to succeed: all these reflections upon his mind, when relaxed, dozing, and half oppressed with sleep, filled his imagination with what he had heard other people call the *horrors*,* the most disagreeable sensation he ever was conscious of, and which he then felt for the first time. Impatient of suffering any longer, he hastily leaped out of bed, and went to the door of the tent, where the outward air perfectly awakened him, and restored his strength and courage. All was still, and at a distance he saw several bright fires, but lower down, and more to the right than he expected, which made him think he was mistaken in the situation of Karcagna. It was then near four in the morning of the 25th. He called upon his companions, happily buried in deep sleep, as he was desirous, if possible to join the king that day. They accordingly were three or four miles from Derdera when the sun rose; there had been little rain that night, and they found very few torrents on their way; but it was slippery, and uneasy walking, the rich soil being trodden into a consistence like paste.

A little before nine they heard a gun fired, which gave them some joy, as the army seemed not to be far off; a few minutes after they heard several dropping shots, and, in less than a quarter of an hour's time, a general firing began from right to left, which ceased for an instant, and then was heard again

* Mr. Bruce means, I suppose, (that he felt himself under the impression of what we call the *Night Mare*.)

again as smart as ever, about the occasion of which they were divided in opinion. The firing continued much in the same way, rather flacker, but apparently advancing nearer them; a sure sign that their army was beaten and retreating. They, therefore, made themselves ready, and mounted on horseback, that they might join them. Yet it was a thing appeared to them scarcely possible, that Fasil should beat Ras Michael so easily, and with so short a resistance.

They had not gone far in the plain before they had a sight of the enemy, to their very great surprise and no small comfort. A multitude of deer, buffaloes, boars, and various other wild beasts, had been alarmed by the noise and daily advancing of the army, and gradually driven before them. The country was all overgrown with wild oats, a great many of the villages having been burnt the year before the inhabitants had abandoned them; in this shelter the wild beasts had taken up their abodes in very great numbers. When the army pointed towards Karcagna to the left, the silence and solitude on the opposite side made them turn to the right to where the Nile makes a semi circle, the Jemma being behind them, and much overflowed. When the army, instead of marching south and by east towards Samseen, had turned their course north west, their faces towards Gondar, they had fallen in with these innumerable herds of deer and other beasts, who, confined between the Nile and the Jemma, and the lake, had no way to return but that by which they had come. These animals, finding men in every direction in which they attempted to pass, became desperate with fear, and, not knowing what course to take, fell a prey to the troops. The soldiers, happy in an occasion of procuring animal food, presently fell to firing wherever the beasts appeared; every loaded gun was discharged upon them, and this continued for very near an hour.

A numerous flock of the largest deer met them just in the face, and seemed so desperate, that they had every appearance of running them down; and part of them forced themselves through, regardless of our travellers, whilst others turned south to escape across the plain.

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The king and Ras Michael were in the most violent agitation of mind ; though the cause was before their eyes, yet the word went about that Woodage Asahel had attacked the army, and this occasioned a great panic and disorder, for every body was convinced, with reason that he was not far off. The firing, however, continued, the balls flew about in every direction, some few were killed, and many people and horses were hurt ; still they fired, and Ras Michael, at the door of his tent, crying, threatening, and tearing his grey locks, found, for a few minutes, the army was not under his command. At this instant Kasmati Netcho, whose Fit-Auraris had fallen back on his front, ordered his kettle drums to be beat before he arrived in the king's presence ; and this being heard, without it being known generally who they were, occasioned another panic. The king ordered his tent to be pitched, his standard to be set up, his drums to beat, (the signal for encamping) and the firing immediately ceased. But it was a long while before all the army could believe that Woodage Asahel had not been engaged with some part of it that day. Mr. Bruce coming up with the army, he asked one of the generals, whither they were now marching ? He said that, as soon as the news of the conspiracy was known, a council was held, where it was the general opinion they should proceed briskly forward, and attack Fasil alone at Buré, then turn to Gondar to meet the other two ; but then they had it upon the very best authority that great rains had fallen to the southward ; that the rivers, which were so frequent in that part of the country, were mostly impassable, so there would be great danger in meeting Fasil with an army spent and fatigued with the difficulty of the roads. It was therefore determined, and the Ras was decidedly of that opinion, that they should keep their army entire for a better day, and immediately cross the Nile, and march back to Gondar ; that they had accordingly wheeled about, and that day was the first of their proceeding, which had been interrupted by the accident of the firing. Mr. Bruce then waited upon the king, and staid a considerable time with him.

On the 26th of May, early in the morning, the army marched towards the Nile. In the afternoon they encamped between two and three, on the banks of the river Coga.

Next morning, the 27th, they left the river Coga, marching down upon the Nile, and passed the church of Mariam Net, as they call the church of St. Anne. Here the superior, attended by about fifty of his monks, came in procession to welcome Ras Michael; but he, it seems, had received some intelligence of ill-offices the people of this quarter had done to the Agows by Fasil's direction; he therefore ordered the church to be plundered, and took the superior, and two of the leading men of the monks, away with him to Gondar; several of the others were killed and wounded, without provocation, by the soldiers, and the rest dispersed through the country.

They arrived about four on the banks of the Nile, and took possession in a line of about 600 yards of ground. From the time they decamped from Coga, it poured incessantly the most continued rain they ever had yet seen, violent claps of thunder followed close one upon another, almost without interval, accompanied with sheets of lightning which ran on the ground like water; the day was more than commonly dark, as in an eclipse, and every hollow, or foot-path, collected a quantity of rain, which fell into the Nile in torrents.

The Abyssinian armies pass the Nile at all seasons. It rolls with it no trees, stones, nor impediments; yet the sight of such a monstrous mass of water terrified Mr. Bruce, and made him think the idea of crossing would be laid aside. It was plain in the face of every one, that they gave themselves over for lost; an universal dejection had taken place, and it was but too visible that the army was defeated by the weather, without having seen an enemy. The Greeks crowded around Mr. Bruce all forlorn and despairing, cursing the hour they had first entered that country, and following these curses with fervent prayers, where fear held the place of devotion. A cold and brisk gale now sprung up at N. W. with a clear sun; and soon after four, when the army arrived on the banks of the Nile, these temporary torrents were all subsided, the sun was hot, and the ground again beginning to become dry.

Netcho, Ras Michael's Fit Auraris, with about 400 men, had passed in the morning, and had sent back word to the king, that his men had passed swimming, and with very
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great difficulty; that he doubted whether the horses or loaded mules, could cross at any rate; but if it were resolved to make the trial, they should do it immediately, without staying till the increase of the river. He said both banks were composed of black earth, slippery and miry, which would become more so when horses had puddled it; he advised, above all, the turning to the right immediately after coming ashore, in the direction in which he had fixed poles, as the earth there was hard and firm; besides having the advantage of some round stones, which hindered the beasts from slipping or sinking. Instead, therefore, of resting there till night, it was resolved that the horse should cross immediately.

The first who passed was a young man, a relation of the king, brother to Ayamico, killed at the battle of Banja; he walked in with great caution, marking a tract for the king to pass. He had gone upon rather solid ground, about twice the length of his horse, when he plunged out of his depth, and swam to the other side. The king followed him immediately with a great degree of haste, Ras Michael calling to him to proceed with caution, but without success. Afterwards came the old Ras on his mule, with several of his friends swimming both with and without their horses on each side of him, in a manner truly wonderful. He seemed to have lost his accustomed calmness, and appeared a good deal agitated; forbade, upon pain of death, any one to follow him directly, or to swim over, or, as their custom is, holding their mules by the tail. As soon as these were safely ashore, the king's household and black troops, and Mr. Bruce with them, advanced cautiously into the river, and swam happily over, in a deep stream of reddish coloured water, which ran without violence almost upon a level. Each horseman had a mule in his hand, which swam after him, or by his side, with his coat of mail and head piece tied upon it. It is impossible to describe the confusion that followed; night was hard upon them; and, though it increased their loss, it in a great measure concealed it; a thousand men had not yet passed, though on mules and horses; many mired in the muddy landing-place, fell back into the stream, and were carried away and drowned. Of the horse belonging to the king's household,
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one hundred and eighty in number, seven only were missing; with them Ayto Alo, vice chamberlain to the queen, and Tecla Mariam the king's uncle, a great friend of Ras Michael's, both old men.

There was no baggage (the tent of the Ras and that of the king excepted) which had as yet come over, and these were wet, being drenched in the river. The Fit-Auraris had left, ready-made, two rafts for Ozoro Esther, and the other two parties, with which she might have easily been conducted over, and without much danger; but the Ras had made Ozoro Esther pass over in the same manner he had crossed himself, many swimming on each side of her mule. She would have fain staid on the east side, but it was in vain to remonstrate. She was with child, and had fainted several times; but yet nothing could prevail with the Ras to trust her on the bank till morning. She crossed, however, safely, though almost dead with fright. The night was cold and clear, and a strong wind at north-west had blown all the afternoon. The river had abated towards midnight, when, whether from this cause, or, as they alledged, that they found a more favourable ford, all the Tigré infantry, and many mules lightly loaded, passed with less difficulty than any of the rest had done, and with them several loads of flour; luckily also Mr. Bruce's two tents and mules, to his great consolation, came safely over when it was near morning. Still the army continued to pass, and those that could swim seemed best off. Ayto Aylo, the queen's chamberlain, and Tecla Mariam, were probably drowned at the first attempt to pass, as they were never after heard of. Before day-light the van and the center had all joined the king; the number that had perished was never distinctly known, for those that were missing were thought to have remained on the other side with Kefla Yafous, at least for that day.

On the 28th, Kefla Yafous crossed Amlac Ohha with some degree of difficulty, and was obliged to abandon several baggage mules. He advanced after this with as great diligence as possible to Delakus, and found the ford, though deep, much better than he expected. He had pitched his tent on the high road to Gondar, before Welleta Yafous, the enemy,

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knew he was decamped, and of this passage he immediately advised Michael refreshing his troops for any emergency. About two in the afternoon, Welleta Yafous appeared with his horse on the other side of the Nile, but it was then too late. Kefla Yafous was so strongly posted, and the banks of the river so guarded with fire arms, down to the water edge, that Fasil and all his army would not have dared to attempt the passage, or even approach the banks of the river.

Ras Michael, having received this intelligence, dispatched the Fit Auraris, Netcho, to take post upon the ford of the Kelti, a large river, but rather broad than deep, about three miles off. He himself followed early in the morning, and passed the Kelti just at sunrise, without halting; he then advanced to meet Kefla Yafous, as the army began to want provisions, the little flour that had been brought over, or which the soldiers had taken with them, being nearly exhausted during that night and the morning after. It was found too that the men had but little powder, none of them having recruited their quantity since the hunting of the deer; but what they had was in perfect good order, being kept in horns, and small wooden bottles, corked in such a manner, as to be secured from water of any kind. Kefla Yafous, therefore, being in possession of the baggage, the powder, and the provisions, a junction with him was absolutely necessary, and they expected to effect this at Wainadega, about twenty miles from their last night's quarters. Between twelve and one they heard the Fit-Auraris engaged, and there was sharp firing on both sides, which soon ceased. Michael ordered his army immediately to halt; he and the king, and Billetana Gueta Tecla, commanded the van; Welleta Michael, and Ayto Tesfos of Siré, the rear. Having marched a little farther, he changed his order of battle. It was not long before the Fit-Auraris's two messengers arrived, running like deer along the plain, which was not absolutely flat, but sloped gently down, declining not a fathom in fifteen. Their account was, that they had fallen in with Fasil's Fit Auraris; that they had attacked him smartly, and, though the enemy were greatly superior, being all horse, except a few musqueteers, had killed four of them. The Ras, having first heard

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the message of the Fit-Auraris alone, he sent a man to report it to the king; and, immediately after this, he ordered two horsemen to go full gallop along the east side of the hill, the low road to Wainadega, to warn Kessa Yafous of Fasil's being near at hand; he likewise directed the Fit-Auraris to advance cautiously till he had seen Fasil, and to pursue no party that should retreat before him.

Fasil soon appeared at the top of the hill, with about 3000 horse. It was a fine sight, but the evening was beginning to be overcast. After having taken a full view of the army, they all began to move slowly down the hill, beating their kettle drums. Fasil sent down a party to skirmish with these, and he himself halted, after having made a few paces down the hill. The two bodies of horse met just half way, and mingled together, as appeared at least, with very decisive intention; but whether it was by orders or from fear, (for they were not overmatched in numbers) the Abyssinian horse turned their backs, and came precipitately down, so that they were afraid they would break in upon the foot. Several shots were fired from the center at them by order of the Ras, who cried aloud in derision, "Take away these horses, and send them to the mill." They divided, however, to the right and left, into the two grassy valleys under cover of the musquetry, and a very few horse of Fasil's were carried in along with them, and slain by the soldiers on the side of the hill. On the king's side, no man of note was missing but Wellela Michael, nephew of Ras Michael, whose horse falling, he was taken prisoner, and carried off by Fasil.

The whole army advanced immediately at a very brisk pace, hooping and screaming, as is their custom, in a most harsh and barbarous manner, crying out Hatzé Ali! But Fasil, who saw the forward countenance of the king's troops, and that a few minutes would lay him under necessity of risking a battle, which he did not intend, withdrew his troops at a smart trot over the smooth downs, returning towards Boskon Abbo.

This is what was called the battle of Limfour, from a village burnt by Ras Michael last campaign. The name of a battle

battle is sorely more than it deserves. Had Fasil been half as willing as the Ras, it could not have failed being a decisive one. The Ras, who saw that Fasil would not fight, easily penetrated his reasons, and no sooner was he gone, and his own drums silent, than he heard a nagareet beat, and knew it to be that of Kessa Yafous. This general encamped upon the river Avoley, leaving his tents and baggage under a proper guard, and had marched with the best and freshest of his troops to join Michael before the engagement. All was joy at meeting, every rank of men joined in extolling the merit and conduct of their leaders; and, indeed, it may be fairly said, the situation of the king and the army was desperate at that instant when the troops were separated on different sides of the Nile; nor could they have been saved, but by the speedy resolution taken by Kessa Yafous to march without loss of time, and pass at the ford of Delakus, and the diligence and activity with which he executed that resolution.

The army marched next day to Dingleber, a high hill, or rock, approaching so close to the lake as scarcely to leave a passage between. Upon the top of this rock is the king's house. As they arrived very early there, and were now out of Fasil's government, the king insisted upon treating Ras Michael and all the people of consideration.

As the king sat down to dinner, an accident happened that occasioned great trepidation among all his servants. A black eagle was chased into the king's tent by some of the birds of prey that hover about the camp; and it was after in the mouth of every one, that the king would be dethroned by a man of inferior birth and condition. Every body at that time looked to Fasil: the event proved the application false, though the omen was true. Powussen of Begemder was as low born as Fasil, as great a traitor, but more successful, to whom the ominous presage pointed; and, though we cannot but look upon the whole as accident, it was but too soon fulfilled.

In the evening of the 29th arrived at Dingleber two horsemen from Fasil, clad in habits of peace, and without arms; they were known to be two of his principal servants, were grave, genteel, middle-aged men. They had an audience
early

early after their coming, first of the Ras, then of the king. They said, and said truly, that Fasil had repassed the Kelti, was encamped on the opposite side, and was not yet joined by Welleta Yafous. Their errand was, to desire that the Ras might not fatigue his men by unnecessarily hurrying on to Gondar, because he might rest secured of receiving no further molestation from Fasil their master, as he was on his march to Buré. They told the Ras the whole of the conspiracy, as far as it regarded him, and the agreement that Powussen and Gusho had made with their master to surround him at Dendera: they mentioned, moreover, how sensible Fasil was of their treason towards him; that, instead of keeping their word, they had left him to engage the king and Ras's whole force at a time when they knew the greatest part of his Galla troops were retired to the other side of the Nile, and could be assembled with difficulty: That if the Ras by chance had crossed at Delakus, as Kessa Yafous had done, instead of embarrassing his army among the rivers of Maitsha, and crossing the Nile at that most dangerous place near Amlac Ohha, (a passage never before attempted in the rainy season) the consequence would have been, that he must have either fought at great disadvantage with an inferior army against the Ras, or have retired to Metchakel, leaving his whole country to the mercy of his enemies. Fasil declared his resolution never again to appear in arms against the king, but that he would hold his government under him, and pay the accustomed taxes punctually: he promised also, that he would renounce all manner of connection with Gusho and Powussen, as he had already done, and he would take the field against them next season with his whole force, whenever the king ordered him. The messengers concluded, with desiring the Ras to give Fasil his grand-daughter, Welleta Selassé, in marriage, and that he would then come to Gondar without distrust.

The Ras, though he did not believe all this, made no difficulty in agreeing to every thing that they desired. He promised the grand-daughter; and, as an earnest of his believing the rest, the king's two nagareets were brought to the door of the tent, where, to the very great surprise of our travellers, they heard it proclaimed, "Fasil is governor of the Agow, Maitsha,

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Maitsha, Gojam, and Damot; prosperity to him, and long may he live a faithful servant to the king our master!"— This was an extraordinary revolution in so small a space of time. It was scarce 43 hours since Fasil had laid a scheme for drowning the greater part of the army in the Nile, and cutting the throats of the residue on both sides of it; it was not twenty-four hours since he had met them to fight in open field, and now he was become the king's lieutenant-general in four of the most opulent provinces of Abyssinia. This was produced, however, by the necessity of the times, and both parties were playing at the same game who should over-reach the other. Fasil's messengers were magnificently clothed, and it was first intended they should have gone back to him; but, after reflection, another person was sent, these two chusing to go to Gondar with the king to remain hostages for Fasil's word, and to bring back his investiture from thence to Buré. The whole camp abandoned itself to joy.

On the 30th of May, nothing material happened, and, in a few days, they arrived at Gondar. Several of the great officers of state reached Gondar, and many others met them at Abba Samuel. Mr. Bruce did not perceive the news they brought increased the spirits either of the King or the Ras; the soldiers, however, were all contented, because they were at home; but the officers, who saw farther, wore very different countenances, especially those that were of Amhara. Mr. Bruce, in particular, had very little reason to be pleased; for, after having undergone a constant series of fatigues, dangers, and expences, he was returned to Gondar disappointed of his views in arriving at the source of the Nile, without any other acquisition than a violent ague.

The whole army being in motion, Mr. Bruce had the evening before taken leave of the king in an interview which cost him more than almost any one in his life. The substance was, that he was ill in his health, and quite unprepared to attend him into Tigre, to which place the army was to retreat; that his heart was set upon completing the only purpose of his coming into Abyssinia, without which he should return into his own country with disgrace; that he hoped, through his majesty's influence, Fasil might find some way for him to accomplish it;
if

if not, he trusted soon to see him return, when he hoped it would be easy; but, if he then went to Tigre, was fully persuaded he should never have the resolution to come again to Gondar.

The king seemed to take heart at the confidence with which Mr. Bruce spoke of his return. "You Yagoube, (says he, in a humble complaining tone,) could tell me, if you pleased, whether I shall or not, and what is to befall me; those instruments and those wheels, with which you are constantly looking at the stars, cannot be for any use, unless for prying into futurity."—"Indeed, prince, (said Mr. Bruce) these are things by which we guide ships at sea, and by these we mark down the ways that we travel by land; teach them to people that never passed them before, and, being once traced, keep them thus to be known by all men for ever. But of the decrees of Providence, whether they regard you or myself, I know no more than the mule upon which you ride"—"Tell me then, I pray, tell me, what is the reason you speak of my return as certain?"—"I speak (said Mr. Bruce) from observation, from reflections that I have made, much more certain than prophecies and divinations by stars. The first campaign of your reign at Fagitta, when you was relying upon the dispositions that the Ras had most ably and skilfully made, a drunkard with a single shot, defeated a numerous army of your enemies. Pownussen and Gusho were your friend as you thought, when you marched out last, yet they had, at that very instant, made a league to destroy you at Derdera; and nothing but a miracle could have saved you, shut up between two lakes and three armies. It was neither you nor Michael that disordered their councils, and made them fail in what they had concerted. You were for burning Samseen, whilst Woodage Asahel was there in ambush with a large force, with a knowledge of all the fords, and master of all the inhabitants of the country. Remember how you passed those rivers, holding hand in hand, and drawing one another over. Could you have done this with an enemy behind you, and such an enemy as Woodage Asahel? He would have followed and harassed you till you took the ford at Goutto, and there was Welleta Yafous waiting to oppose you."

you with 6000 men on the opposite bank. When Ras Michael marched by Mariam Net, he found the priests at their homes. Was that the case in any of the other churches we passed? No; all were fled for fear of Michael; yet these were more guilty than any by their connections with Fasil: notwithstanding which, they alone, of all others, staid, though they knew not why; an invisible hand held them that they might operate your preservation. Nothing could have saved the army but the desperate passage, so tremendous that will exceed the belief of man, crossing the Nile that night. Yet if the priests had crossed before this, not a man would have proceeded to the ford. The priests would have been Ras Michael's prisoners, and, on the other side, they never would have spoken a word whilst in the presence of Michael. Providence, therefore, kept them with Kessa Yafous; all was discovered, and the army saved by the retreat, and his speedy passing at the ford of Delakus. What would have happened to Kessa Yafous, had Fasil marched down to Delakus either before or after the passage? Kessa Yafous would have been cut off before Ras Michael had passed the Kelti: instead of which, an unknown cause detained him, most infatuated like, beating his kettle-drums behind Boskon Abbo, while our army under the Ras was swimming that dangerous river, and most of us passing the night, naked, without tents, provision or powder. Nor did he ever think of presenting himself till we had warmed ourselves by an easy march in a fine day, when we were every day his superiors, and Kessa Yafous in his rear. From all these special marks of the favour of an overruling Providence, I do believe stedfastly that God will not leave his work half finished. He it is who, governing the whole universe, has yet reserved specially to himself the department of war; he it is who has stiled himself the God of Battles."

The king was very much moved, and, as Mr. Bruce conceived persuaded. He said, "O Yagoube, go but with me to Tigré, and I will do for you whatever you desire me." "You do, Sir; (said Mr. Bruce) whatever I desire you, and more. I have told you my reasons why that cannot be; let me stay here a few months, and wait your return." The king then advised

advised him to live entirely at Koscam with the Iteghé without going out, unless Fasil came to Gondar, and to send punctually word how he was treated. Upon this they parted with inexpressible reluctance. He was a king worthy to reign over a better people; Mr. Bruce's heart was deeply penetrated with those marks of favour and condescension, which he had uniformly received from him ever since he entered his palace.

Two very remarkable things were said to have happened the night before Michael left the city. He had always pretended, that, before he undertook an expedition, a person, or spirit, appeared to him, who told him the issue and consequence of the measures he was then taking; this he imagined to be St. Michael the archangel, and he presumed very much upon this intercourse. In a council that night, where none but friends were present, he told them, that his spirit had appeared some nights before, and ordered him, in his retreat, to surprise the mountain of Wechné, and either slay or carry with him to Tigré the princes sequestered there. Nebrit Tecla, governor of Axum, with his two sons, (all concerned in the late king's murder) were, it is said, strong advisers of this measure; but Ras Michael, (probably satiated with royal blood already) Kessa Yafous, and all the worthy men of any consequence, acting on principle, absolutely refused to consent to it. It was upon this the passage by Beles-sen was substituted instead of the attempt on Wechné, and it was determined to conceal it.

Soon after the king and Ras Michael left the city, Gusho and Powussen entered. Their will was a law while they remained in Gondar. They treated Mr. Bruce with less kindness than the king and his friends had done, but not with that severity which might have been expected from his attachment to the latter. The body of Joas, a former monarch who had been murdered by orders of the Ras, was raised from the grave, his murderers having been discovered and brought to punishment. It was some time indecently exposed; Mr. Bruce at length ventured to cover it in a becoming manner, and the action was generally praised by all parties.

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Though the queen shewed very great dislike to Mr. Bruce's attempting his journey at such a time, yet she did not positively command the contrary; he was prepared, therefore, to leave Gondar the 27th of October 1770, and thought to get a few miles clear of the town, and then make a long stretch the next day. He had received his quadrant, time keeper, and telescopes from the island of Mitraha, where he had placed them after the affair of Guebra Mehedin, and had now put them in the very best order. But, about twelve o'clock, he was told a message from Ras Michael had arrived with great news from Tigré. He went immediately to Koscam as fast as he could gallop, and found there Guebra Christos, a man used to bring the jars of bouza to Ras Michael at his dinner and supper: low men are always employed on such errands, that they may not, from their consequence, excite a desire of vengeance. The message that he brought was to order bread and beer to be ready for 30,000 men who were coming with king, as he had just decamped from before the mountain Haramat, which he had taken, and put Za Menfus to the sword, with every man that was in it; this message struck the queen with such a terror, that she was not visible the whole day.

In the evening before, Mr. Bruce had endeavoured to engage his old companion Strates to accompany him on this attempt as he had done on the former; but the recollection of past dangers and sufferings was not yet banished from his mind; and upon his asking him to go and see the head of this famous river, he coarsely, according to his stile, answered, Might the devil fetch him if ever he sought either his head or his tail again.

On the 28th of October, they left Gondar, passed the river Kabha at the foot of the town; and on the 30th reached Bamba, where Fasil was encamped.

They found Bamba a collection of villages, in a valley now filled with soldiers. They went to the left with their guide, and got a tolerable house, but the door had been carried away. Fasil's tent was pitched a little below them, larger than the others, but without further distinction: it

was easily known, however, by the lights about it, and by the nagareet, which still continued beating: he was just alighting from his horse. Mr. Bruce immediately sent Ayto Aylo's servant, whom he had with him, to present his compliments, and acquaint him of his being on the road to visit him. He thought now all his difficulties were over, for he knew it was in his power to forward them to their journey's end; and his servants, whom he saw at the palace near the king, when Fasil was invested with his command, had assured Mr. Bruce not only of an effectual protection, but also of a magnificent reception, if he chanced to find him in Maitsha.

It was however, now, near eight at night of the 30th, before Mr. Bruce received a message to attend him. He repaired immediately to his tent, and after announcing himself, he waited about a quarter of an hour before he was admitted; he was sitting upon a cushion with a lion's skin upon it, and another stretched like a carpet before his feet, and had a cotton cloth, something like a dirty towel, wrapped about his head; his upper cloak, or garment, was drawn tight about him over his neck and shoulders, so as to cover his hands. Mr. Bruce bowed, and went forward to kiss one of them, but it was so entangled in the cloth, that he was obliged to kiss the cloth instead of the hand. This was done either as not expecting he should pay him that compliment, (as he certainly should not have done, being one of the king's servants, if the king had been at Gondar) or else it was intended for a mark of disrespect, which was very much of a piece with the rest of his behaviour afterwards.

There was no carpet or cushions in the tent, and only a little straw, as if accidentally, thrown thinly about it. Mr. Bruce sat down upon the ground, thinking him sick, not knowing what all this meant; he looked stedfastly at our travellers, saying softly, Endett nawi? bogo nawi? which in Amharic, is, How do you do? Are you very well? Mr. Bruce made the usual answer, "Well, thank God." He again stopt, as for our traveller to speak; there was only one old man present, who was sitting on the floor mending a mule's bridle. He took him at first for an attendant, but observing that a servant uncovered held a candle to him, he thought

thought he was one of his Galla; but then he saw a blue silk thread, which he had about his neck, which is a badge of Christianity all over Abyssinia, and which a Galla would not wear. What he was, Mr. Bruce could not make out; he seemed, however, to be a very bad cobbler, and took no notice of them.

Ayto Aylo's servant, who stood behind Mr. Bruce, pushed him with his knee, as a sign that he should speak, which he accordingly began to do with some difficulty, "I am come, (said he) by your invitation and the king's leave, to pay my respects to you in your own government, begging that you would favour my curiosity so far as to suffer me to see the country of the Agows, and the source of the Abay, or Nile, part of which I have seen in Egypt." "The source of the Abay! (exclaimed he, with a pretended surprise) do you know what you are saying? Why, it is, God knows where, in the country of the Galla, wild, terrible people. The source of the Abay! Are you raving! (repeats he again) Are you to get there, do you think in a twelvemonth, or more, or when?" "Sir, (said Mr. Bruce) the king told me it was near Sacala, and still nearer Geesh; both villages of the Agows, and both in your government." "And so you know Sacala, and Geesh? (says he) whistling and half angry." "I can repeat the names that I hear (said Mr. Bruce) all Abyssinia knows the head of the Nile." "Aye (says he imitating my voice and manner) but all Abyssinia won't carry you there, that I promise you." "If you are resolved to the contrary, (said Mr. Bruce) they will not; I wish you had told the king so in time, then I should not have attempted it; it was relying on you alone I came so far, confident, if all the rest of Abyssinia could not protect me there, that your word singly could do it.

He now put on a look of more complacency. "Look you, Yagoube, (says he) it is true I can do it; and for the king's sake who recommended it to me, I would do it; but the Acab Salama has sent to me, to desire me not to let you pass further; he says it is against the law of the land to permit Franks like you to go about the country, and that he has dreamed something ill will befall me if you go into Maitsha. Mr. Bruce was

was as much irritated as he thought it possible for him to be. "So, so, (said our traveller) the time of priests, prophets, and dreamers is coming on again." "I understand you, (says he laughing for the first time) I care as little for priests as Michael does, and for prophets too, but I would have you consider the men of this country are not like yours; a boy of these Galla would think nothing of killing a man of your country. You white people are all effeminate; you are like so many women; you are not fit for going into a province where all is war, and inhabited by men, warriors from their cradle."

Mr. Bruce saw he intended to provoke him; and he had succeeded so effectually, that he should have died, he believes, imprudent as it was, if he had not told him his mind in reply. "Sir, (said our traveller) I have passed through many of the most barbarous nations in the world; all of them, excepting this clan of yours, have some great men among them above using a defenceless stranger ill. But the worst and lowest individual among the most uncivilized people never treated me as you have done to day under your own roof, where I have come so far for protection." He asked, "How?" "You have in the first place (said Mr. Bruce) publicly called me Frank, the most odious name in this country, and sufficient to occasion me to be stoned to death without further ceremony, by any set of men wherever I may present myself. By Frank you mean one of the Romish religion, to which my nation is as adverse as yours; and again, without having ever seen any of my countrymen but myself, you have discovered from that specimen, that we are all cowards and effeminate people, like, or inferior to, your boys and women. Look you, Sir, you never heard that I gave myself out as more than an ordinary man in my own country, far less to be a pattern of what is excellent in it. I am no soldier, though I know enough of war to see yours are poor proficient in that trade. But there are soldiers, friends and countrymen of mine, who would not think it an action in their lives to vaunt of, that with 500 men they had trampled all your naked savages into dust."

On this Fasil made a feigned laugh, and seemed rather to take his freedom amiss. It was, doubtless, a passionate and rash speech, "As to myself (continued Mr. Bruce) un-
skilled

skilled in war as I am, could it be now without further consequence, let me but be armed in my own country fashion on horseback, as I was yesterday, I would, without thinking myself overmatched, fight the two best horsemen you shall choose from this your army of famous men, who are warriors from their cradle : and if, when the king arrives, you are not returned to your duty, and we meet again, as we did at Limjour, I will pledge myself, with his permission, to put you in mind of this promise." This did not make things better.

He repeated the word *duty* after him, and would have replied, but Mr. Bruce's nose burst out in a stream of blood ; and, that instant, Aylo's servant took hold of Mr. Bruce by the shoulder to hurry him out of the tent. Fasil seemed to be a good deal concerned, for the blood streamed out in plenty ; our traveller then returned to his tent, and the blood was soon staunch'd by washing his face with cold water. He sat down, to recollect himself, and the more he calmed, the more he was dissatisfied at being put off his guard ; but it is impossible to conceive the provocation without having proved it. Mr. Bruce felt but too often how much the love of our native soil increases by our absence from it ; and how jealous we are of comparisons made to the disadvantage of our countrymen by people who, all proper allowances being made, are generally not their equals, when they would boast themselves their superiors. Mr. Bruce confesses further, in gratification to his critics, that he was, from his infancy, of a sanguine, passionate disposition ; very sensible of injuries that he had neither provoked nor deserved ; but much reflection, from very early life, continual habits of suffering in long and dangerous travels, where nothing but patience would do, had, he flattered himself, abundantly subdued his natural proneness to feel offences, which, common sense might teach him, he could only revenge upon himself.

Mr. Bruce went to bed, and falling into a sound sleep, was waked near midnight by two of Fasil's servants, who brought each of them a lean live sheep ; they said they had brought the sheep, and were come to ask how Mr. Bruce was, and to stay all night to watch the house for fear of the thieves in the

army; they likewise brought their master's order for him to come early in the morning to him, as he wanted to dispatch him on his journey before he gave the Galla liberty to return. This dispelled every doubt, but it raised his spirits so much, that, out of impatience for morning, he slept very little more that night.

Fafil, having sent for Mr. Bruce the next morning, invited him to partake of a great breakfast; honey and butter, and raw beef in abundance, as also some stewed dishes that were very good. He was very hungry, having tasted nothing since dinner the day before; and he had had much exercise of body as well as of mind. They were all very cheerful, every one saying something about the Agows, or of the Nile. Mr. Bruce at last thus addressed Fafil: "Your continual hurry, (said he) all the times I have seen you, has put it out of my power till now to make you the acknowledgment it is ordinary for strangers to present when they visit great men in their own country, and ask favours of them. Mr. Bruce then took a napkin, and opened it before him; he seemed to have forgotten the present altogether; but from that moment he saw his countenance changed, he was like another man. "O Yagoube, (said he) a present to me! you should be sensible that it is perfectly needless; you were recommended to me by the king and the Ras; you know we are friends, and I would do twenty times as much for yourself, without recommendation from either; besides, I have not behaved to you like a great man."

It was not a very hard thing to conquer these scruples; he took the several pieces of the present one by one in his hands, and examined them; there was a crimson silk sash, made at Tunis, about five yards long, with a silk fringe of the same colour; it was as beautiful a web as ever Mr. Bruce saw; it had a small waved pattern wrought in it; the next was a yellow, with a red narrow border, or stripe, and a silver wrought fringe, but neither so long nor so thick as the other; the next were two Cyprus manufactured sashes, silk and cotton, with a satten stripe, the one broader than the other, but five yards long each; the next was a Persian pipe, with a long

long pliable tube, or worm, covered with Turkey leather, with an amber mouth piece, and a chrystal vase for smoking tobacco through water, a great luxury in the eastern countries ; the next were two blue bowls, as fine as the one he had just then broken, and of the same sort. He shoved them from him laughing, and said, " I will not take them from you, Yagoube ; this is downright robbery ; I have done nothing for this, which is a present for a king."—" It is a present to a friend, (said Mr. Bruce) often of more consequence to a stranger than a king ; I always except your king, who is the stranger's best friend."—Though he was not easily disconcerted, he seemed at this time to be very nearly so. " If you will not receive them, (continued Mr. Bruce) such as they are offered, it is the greatest affront that ever was put upon me ; I can never, you know, receive them again."

By this he was convinced. More feeble arguments would indeed have satisfied him, and he folded up the napkin with all the articles, and gave them to an officer ; after which the tent was again cleared for consultation ; and, during this time, he had called his man of confidence, whom he was to send with us, and instructed him properly. Mr. Bruce plainly saw that he had gained the ascendant ; and in the expectation of Ras Michael's speedily coming to Gondar, he was as willing to be on his journey the one way, as he was the other.

It was about one o'clock, or after it, when Mr. Bruce was admitted to Fasil : he received him with great complacency, and would have had him sit down on the same cushion with himself, which he declined. " Friend Yagoube, (said he) I am heartily sorry that you did not meet me at Buré before I set out ; there I could have received you as I ought ; but I have been tormented with a multitude of barbarous people, who have turned my head, and whom I am now about to dismiss. I go to Gondar in peace, and to keep peace there, for the king on this side the Tecazzé has no other friend than me ; Powussen and Gusho are both traitors, and so Ras Michael knows them to be. I have nothing to return you for the present you have given me, for I did not expect to meet a man like you here in the fields ; but you will quickly be back ;

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we shall meet on better terms at Gondar ; the head of the Nile is near at hand ; a horseman, express, will arrive there in a day. I have given you a good man, well known in this country to be my servant ; he will go to Geesh with you, and return you to a friend of Ayto Aylo's and mine, Shallaka Welled Amlac ; he has the dangerous part of the country wholly in his hands, and will carry you safe to Gondar ; my wife is at present in his house : fear nothing, I shall answer for your safety : When will you set out ? to-morrow ?

Mr. Bruce replied, with many thanks for his kindness, that he wished to proceed immediately, and that his servants were already far off, on the way.

Fasil then said to Mr. Bruce, " Throw off those clothes ; they are not decent ; I must give you new ones, you are my vassal. The king granted you Geesh, where you are going, and I must invest you." A number of Fasil's servants then hurried him out ; our traveller presently threw off his trousers, and his two upper garments, and remained in his waistcoat ; these were presently replaced by new ones, and he was brought back in a minute to Fasil's tent, with only a fine loose muslin under garment or cloth round him, which reached to his feet. Upon his coming back to the tent, Fasil took off the one that he had put on himself new in the morning, and put it about Mr. Bruce's shoulder with his own hand, his servants throwing another immediately over him, saying at the same time to the people, " Bear witness, I give to you, Yagoubé, the Agow Geesh, as fully and freely as the king has given it me." Mr. Bruce bowed and kissed his hand, as is customary for feudatories, and he then pointed to him to sit down.

" Hear what I say to you (continued Fasil.) I think it right for you to make the best of your way now, for you will be the sooner back at Gondar. You need not be alarmed at the wild people who are going after you, though it is better to meet them coming this way, than when they are going to their homes ; they are commanded by Welleta Yafous ; who is your friend, and is very grateful for the medicines you sent him at Gondar : he has not been able to see you, being so much

much busied with those wild people ; but he loves you, and will take care of you, and you must give me more of that physic when we meet at Gondar." Mr. Bruce bowed, and he continued,—“ Hear me what I say ; you see those seven people (our traveller never saw more thief like fellows in his life,)—these are all leaders and chiefs of the Galla—savages if you please ; they are all your brethren. You may go through their country as if it were your own, without a man hurting you : you will be soon related to them all ; for it is their custom, that a stranger of distinction, like you, when he is their guest, sleeps with the sister, daughter, or near relation of the principal men among them. I dare say, you will not think the customs of the Galla contain greater hardships than those of Amhara.” He then jabbered something to them in Galla, which Mr. Bruce did not understand. They all answered by the wildest howl he ever heard, and struck themselves upon the breast apparently assenting.

“ When Ras Michael, (continued Fasil, came from the battle of Fagitta, the eyes of forty-four, brethren and relations of these people present, were pulled out at Gondar, the day after he arrived, and they were exposed upon the banks of the river Angrab to starve, where most of them were devoured by the hyænas ; you took three of them up to your house ; nourished, cloathed, protected, and kindly treated them.” “ They are now in health, (said Mr. Bruce) and want nothing : The Iteghé will deliver them to you : The only other thing I have done to them was, I got them baptised : I do not know if that will displease them ; I did it as an additional protection to them, and to give them a title to the charity of the people of Gondar.” “ As for that, (said Fasil) they don't care the least about Baptism ; it will neither do them good nor harm, they don't trouble themselves about these matters ; give them meat and drink, and you will be very welcome to baptise them all from morning to night ; after such good care these Galla are all your brethren ; they will die before they see you hurt.” He then said something to them in Galla again, and they all gave another assent, and made a shew of kissing our traveller's hand.

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They sat down; and, Mr. Bruce confesses, if they entertained any good will to him, it was not discernable in their countenances. "Besides this, (continued Fasil) you was very kind and courteous to my servants while at Gondar, and said many favourable things of me before the king; you sent me a present also; and above all, when Joas my master's body was dug up from the church yard of St. Raphael, and all Gondar were afraid to shew it the least respect, dreading the vengeance of Ras Michael, you, a stranger, who had never seen him, nor received benefit from him, at your own expense paid that attention to his remains, which would have better become many at Gondar, and me in particular, had I been within reach, or had intelligence of the matter: now, before all these men, ask me any thing you have at heart, and, be it what it may, they know I cannot deny it you." He delivered this in a tone and gracefulness of manner, superior, Mr. Bruce thought, to any thing he had ever before seen, although the Abyssinians are all orators, as, indeed, are most barbarians. "Why then (said Mr. Bruce) by all those obligations you are pleased to mention, of which you have made a recital so truly honourable to me, I ask you the greatest favour that man can bestow upon me—send me, as conveniently as possible, to the head of the Nile, and return me and my attendants in safety, after having dispatched me quickly, and put me under no constraint that may prevent me from satisfying my curiosity in my own way." "This, (replied he) is no request, I have granted it already; besides, I owe it to the commands of the king, whose servant I am. Since, however, it is so much at your heart, go in peace, I will provide you with all necessities. If I am alive, and governor of Damot, as you are, we all know, a prudent and sensible man, unsettled as the state of the country is, nothing disagreeable can befall you."

He then turned again to his seven chiefs, who all got up, himself, Mr. Bruce, and his companions; they all stood round in a circle, and raised the palm of their hands, while he and his Galla together repeated a prayer about a minute long, the Galla seemingly with great devotion. "Now (said Fasil) go in peace, you are a Galla; this is a curse upon them, and their children, their corn, grass, and cattle, if ever they lift
their

their hand against you or yours, or do not defend you to the utmost, if attacked by others, or endeavour to defeat any design they may hear is intended against you." Upon this, Mr. Bruce offered to kiss his hand before he took his leave, and they all went to the door of the tent, where there was a very handsome grey horse bridled and saddled. "Take this horse," (said Fasil) as a present from me; it is not so good as your own, but, depend upon it, it is the horse which I rode upon yesterday, when I came here to encamp; but do not mount it yourself, drive it before you saddled and bridled as it is; no man of Maitsha will touch you when he sees that horse; it is the people of Maitsha, whose houses Michael has burnt, that you have to fear, and not your friends the Galla.

Mr. Bruce then took the most humble and respectful leave of him possible, and also of his new-acquired brethren the Galla, praying inwardly he might never see them again. Mr. Bruce, then turning to Fasil, according to the custom of the country to superiors, asked him leave to mount on horseback before him, and was speedily out of sight.

On the second of November, they pursued their journey in a direction southward, and passed the church of Boskon Abbo; ever memorable to them, as being the station of Fasil in May, when he intended to cut them off after their passage of the Nile.

At three quarters after ten in the morning, they passed the small river Arooffi, which either gives its name to, or receives it from, the district through which it passes: it falls into the Nile about four miles below; is a clear, small, brisk stream; its banks covered with verdure not to be described.

All the little territory of Arooffi is by much the most pleasant that our travellers had seen in Abyssinia, perhaps it is equal to any thing the east can produce; the whole is finely shaded with acacia trees, which, in the sultry parts of Africa, produce the gum-arabic. These trees grow seldom above fifteen or sixteen feet high, then flatten and spread wide at the top, and touch each other, while the trunks are far asunder, and under a vertical sun, leave you, many miles together, a free space to walk in a cool, delicious shade.

After

After passing the Affar, and several villages belonging to Goutto, they had, for the first time, a distinct view of the high mountain of Geesh, the long-wished for end of their dangerous and troublesome journey. Under this mountain are the fountains of the Nile; about thirty miles, as near as they could conjecture in a straight line, without counting the deviations or crookedness of the road. At two o'clock in the afternoon of the second of November, they came to the banks of the Nile; the passage is very difficult and dangerous, the bottom being full of holes made by considerable springs, light sinking sand, at very little distance, large rocky stones: the eastern side was muddy and full of pits, the ground of clay: the Nile here is about 260 feet broad, and very rapid; its depth about four feet in the middle of the river, and the sides not above two. Its banks are of a very gentle, easy descent; the western side is chiefly ornamented with high trees of the salix, or willow tribe, growing straight, without joints or knots, and bearing long pointed pods full of a kind of cotton.

Mr. Bruce, when he attempted to pass the Nile, was pleased to find that the Agows, who inhabited its banks, in this place, still venerate the divinity of that river. They would not suffer him and his party to ride across the stream on their mules; they even insisted that they should take off their shoes; and threatened to stone those who attempted to wash the dirt from their cloaks and trousers in the stream.

Our travellers having passed the Nile, arrived at Goutto, (the village so called) and took up their lodgings in the house of a considerable person, who had abandoned it upon their approach, thinking them part of Fasil's army. Though this habitation was of use in protecting them from the poor, yet it hurt them by alarming, and so depriving them of the assistance of the opulent, such as the present owner, who, if he had known they were strangers from Gondar, would have willingly staid and entertained them, being a relation and friend of Shalaka Welled Amlac.

As they heard distinctly the noise of the cataract, and had still a full hour and a half of light, Mr. Bruce determined to visit the water-fall, lest he should be thereby detained the

next

next morning. Being well armed, Mr. Bruce set out for the cataract; and, after riding through a plain, hard country, in some parts very stony, and thick covered with trees, in something more than half an hour's easy galloping all the way, they came straight to the cataract, conducted thereto by the noise of the fall.

This, known by the name of the first Cataract of the Nile, did not by its appearance come up to the idea they had formed of it, being scarce fifteen feet in height, and about sixty yards over; but in many places the sheet of water is interrupted, and leaves dry intervals of rock. The sides are neither so woody nor verdant as those of the cataract of the Assar; and it is in every shape less magnificent, or deserving to be seen, than is the noble cataract at Alata before described, erroneously called the Second Cataract. Mr. Bruce, having satisfied his curiosity at this cataract, galloped back the same road that he had come, without having seen a single person since he left Goutto.

On the 3d of November, at eight o'clock in the morning, they left the village of Goutto, and continued, for the first part of the day, through a plain country full of acacia-trees. They continued their journey from thence, and at length arrived at a tripple ridge of mountains disposed one range behind the other, nearly in form of three concentric circles, which seem to suggest an idea, that they are the Mountains of the Moon, or the *Montes Lunæ* of antiquity, at the foot of which the Nile was said to rise; in fact, there are no others. These mountains are all of them excellent soil, and every where covered with fine pasture; but as this unfortunate country had been for ages the theatre of war, the inhabitants have only ploughed and sown the top of them, out of the reach of enemies or marching armies. On the middle of the mountain are villages built of a white sort of grass, which makes them conspicuous at a great distance; the bottom is all grass, where their cattle feed continually under their eye; these, upon any alarm, they drive up to the top of the mountains out of danger.

Being arrived at the top of the mountain, they had a distinct

trinct view of all the remaining territory of Sacala, the mountain Geesh, and church of St. Michael Geesh, about a mile and a half distant from St. Michael Sacala, where they then were. They saw, immediately below them, the Nile itself, strangely diminished in size, and now only a brook that had scarcely water to turn a mill. Mr. Bruce could not satiate himself with the sight, revolving in his mind all those classical prophecies that had given the Nile up to perpetual obscurity and concealment. Mr. Bruce was awakened out of this delightful reverie by an alarm that they had lost Woldo their guide. Though Mr. Bruce long had expected something from his behaviour, he did not think, for his own sake, it could be his intention to leave them. Various conjectures immediately followed; some thought he had resolved to betray and rob them; some conceived it was an instruction of Fasil's to him, in order to their being treacherously murdered; some again supposed he was slain by the wild beasts, especially those apes or baboons, whose voracity, size, and fierce appearance, were exceedingly magnified. Mr. Bruce began to think, that he might be ill, for he had before complained, and that the sickness might have overcome him upon the road; and this, too, was the opinion of Ayto Aylo's servant, who said, however, with a significant look, that he could not be far off; they therefore sent him, and one of the men that drove the mules, back to seek after him; and they had not gone but a few hundred yards when they found him coming, but so decrepid and so very ill, that he said he could go no farther than the church, where he was positively resolved to take up his abode that night. Mr. Bruce felt his pulse, examined every part about him, and saw, he thought, nothing ailed him. Without losing his temper, however, Mr. Bruce told him firmly, he perceived he was an impostor; that he should consider that he was a physician, as he knew he cured his master's first friend, Welleta Yafous: that the feeling of his hand told him as plain as his tongue could have done, that nothing ailed him; that it told him likewise he had in his heart some prank to play, which would turn out very much to his disadvantage. He seemed dismayed after this, said little, and only desired them to halt for a few minutes, and he should be better; "for, (says he,) it requires strength in us all to pass another great hill before we arrive at Geesh,"

“Look

"Look you, (said Mr. Bruce) lying is to no purpose; I know where Geesh is as well as you do, and that we have no more mountains or bad places to pass through; therefore, if you choose to stay behind you may; but to-morrow I shall inform Welleta Yafous at Buré of your behaviour." He said this with the most determined air possible, and left them, walking as hard as he could down to the ford of the Nile. Woldo remained above with the servants, who were loading their mules; he seemed to be perfectly cured of his lameness, and was in close conversation with Ayto Aylo's servant for about ten minutes, which Mr. Bruce did not choose to interrupt, as he saw that man was already in possession of part of Woldo's secret. This being over, they all came down to Mr. Bruce as he was sketching a branch of a yellow rose-tree, a number of which hang over the ford.

The whole company passed, and Woldo, seeming to walk as well as ever, ascended a gentle-rising hill, near the top of which is St. Michael Geesh. The Nile here is not four yards over, and not above four inches deep where they crossed; it was indeed become a very trifling brook, but ran swiftly over a bottom of small stones, with hard black rock appearing amidst them: it is at this place very easy to pass, and very limpid, but, a little lower, full of inconsiderable falls; the ground rises gently from the river to the southward, full of small hills and eminences, which you ascend and descend most imperceptibly. The whole company had halted on the north side of St. Michael's church, and there Mr. Bruce reached them without affecting any hurry.

About four o'clock in the afternoon, the day having been very hot for some hours, they were sitting in the shade of a grove of magnificent cedars, intermixed with some very large and beautiful cusso-trees, all in the flower: the men were lying on the grass, and the beasts fed, with the burdens on their back, in the most luxuriant herbage. Mr. Bruce said indifferently to Woldo in passing, that he was glad to see him recovered; that he would be presently well, and should fear nothing. He then got up, and desired to speak with Mr. Bruce alone, taking Aylo's servant along with him. "Now, (said our traveller very calmly) I know by your face
you

you are going to tell me a lie. I do swear to you solemnly, you never, by that means, will obtain any thing from me, no, not so much as a good word; truth and good behaviour will get you every thing; what appears a great matter in your sight is not perhaps of such value in mine; but nothing except truth and good behaviour will answer to you; now I know for a certainty you are no more sick than I am." "Sir, (said he) with a very confident look, you are right; I did counterfeit; I neither have been, nor am I at present any way out of order; but I thought it best to tell you so, not to be obliged to discover another reason that has much more weight with me, why I cannot go to Geesh, and much less throw myself at the sources of the Nile, which I confess are not much beyond it, though I declare to you there is still a *hill* between you and those sources." "And pray, (said Mr. Bruce calmly) what is this mighty reason? have you had a dream or a vision in that trance you fell into when you lagged behind, below the church of St. Michael Sacala?" "No, (says he) it is neither trance, nor dream, nor devil neither; I wish it was no worse; but you know as well as I, that my master Fasil defeated the Agows at the battle of Benja. I was there with my master, and killed several men, among whom some were of the Agows of this village Geesh, and you know the usage of this country when a man, in these circumstances, falls into their hands, his blood must pay for their blood."

Mr. Bruce burst out into a violent fit of laughter, which very much disconcerted him. "There, (said our traveller) did not I say to you it was a lie that you was going to tell me? do not think I disbelieve or dispute with you the vanity of having killed men; many men were slain at that battle; somebody must, and you may have been the person who slew them; but do you think that I can believe that Fasil, so deep in that account of blood, could rule the Agows in the manner he does, if he could not put a servant of his in safety among them 20 miles from his residence; do you think I can believe this?" "Come, come, (said Aylo's servant to Waldo) did you not hear that truth and good behaviour will get you every thing you ask? Sir, (continued he) I see this affair vexes you, and what this foolish man wants will neither make you

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richer nor poorer ; he has taken a great desire for that crimson silk sash which you wear about your middle. I told him to stay till you went back to Gondar ; but he says he is to go no farther than to the house of Shalaka Welled Amlac in Maitsha, and does not return to Gondar ; I told him to stay till you had put your mind at ease, by seeing the fountains of the Nile, which you are so anxious about. He said after that had happened, he was sure you would not give it him, for you seemed to think little of the cataract at Goutto, and of all the fine rivers and churches which he had shewn you : except the head of the Nile shall be finer than all these, when, in reality, it will be just like another river, you will then be dissatisfied, and not give him the sash."

Mr. Bruce thought there was something very natural in these suspicions of Woldo ; besides, he said he was certain, that if ever the sash came into the sight of Welled Amlac, by some means or other, he would get it into his hands. This rational discourse had pacified Mr. Bruce a little ; but it must have been fine indeed to have stood for a minute between him and the accomplishment of his wishes. Mr. Bruce then laid his hand upon the pistols that stuck in his girdle, and drew them out to give them to one of his suit, when Woldo, who apprehended it was for another purpose, ran some paces back, and hid himself behind Aylo's servant. Mr. Bruce after having taken off his sash, " Here is your sash, Woldo, (said he) but mark what I have said, and now most seriously repeat to you, truth and good behaviour will get any thing from me ; but if in the course of this journey, you play one trick more, though ever so trifling, I will bring such a vengeance upon your head, that you shall not be able to find a place to hide it in, when not the sash only will be taken from you, but your skin also will follow it."

He took the sash, but seemed terrified at the threat, and began to make apologies. " Come, come, (said Mr. Bruce) we understand each other ; no more words ; it is now late, lose no time more, but carry me to Geesh, and the head of the Nile directly, without preamble, and shew me the hill that separates me from it." He then carried our traveller round

to the south side of the church, out of the grove of trees that surrounded it. "This is the hill, (said he) looking archly, that, when you was on the other side of it, was between you and the fountains of the Nile, there is no other; look at that hillock of green sod in the middle of that watery spot, it is in that the two fountains of the Nile are to be found:-Geesh is on the face of the rock where yon green trees are; if you go the length of the fountains, pull off your shoes, as you did the other day; for these people are all Pagans, worse than those that were at the ford, and they believe in nothing that you believe, but only in this river, to which they pray every day as if it were God; but this perhaps you may do likewise." Half undressed as Mr. Bruce was by loss of his sash, and throwing his shoes off, he ran down the hill towards the little island of green sods, which was about two hundred yards distant; the whole side of the hill was thick grown over with flowers, the large bulbous roots of which appearing above the surface of the ground, and their skins coming off on treading upon them, occasioned too very severe falls before he reached the brink of the marsh. Mr. Bruce, after this, came to the island of green turf, which was in form of an altar, apparently the work of art, and he stood in rapture over the principal fountain which rises in the middle of it.

It is easier to guess than describe the situation of Mr. Bruce's mind at that moment; standing on that spot which had baffled the genius, industry, and inquiry of both ancients and moderns, for the course of near three thousand years. Kings had attempted this discovery at the head of armies, and each expedition was distinguished from the last, only by the difference of the numbers which had perished, and agreed alone in the disappointment which had uniformly, and without exception followed them all. Fame, riches, and honour had been held out for a series of ages to every individual of those myriads these princes commanded, without having produced one man capable of gratifying the curiosity of his sovereign, or wiping off this stain upon the enterprise and abilities of mankind, or adding this desideratum for the encouragement of geography.

Mr. Bruce

Mr. Bruce now proceeds to describe the sources of the Nile, which have, as he says, remained to our days as unknown as they were to antiquity, no good or genuine voucher having yet been produced capable of proving that they were before discovered, or seen by the curious eye of any traveller, from the earliest ages to this day ; and it is with confidence Mr. Bruce proposes to his reader, that he will consider him as still standing at these fountains, and patiently hear from him the recital of the origin and circumstances of this the most famous river in the world, which are not to be found in books, or from any other human authority-whatever, and which, by the care and attention he has paid to the subject, will, he hopes, be found satisfactory here.

We may enable the reader to compare Lobo's account of these sources with Mr. Bruce's : " The Nile, which the natives call Abavi, that is, the father of waters, rises first in Sacala, a province of the kingdom of Gouama, which is one of the most fruitful and agreeable of all the Abyssinian dominions. This province is inhabited by a nation of the Agows, who call themselves Christians : But by daily intermarriages they have allied themselves to the Pagan Agows, and adopted all their customs and ceremonies.

" In the eastern part of this kingdom, on the declivity of a mountain, whose descent is so easy, that it seems a beautiful plain, is that source of the Nile which has been sought after at so much expence of labour, and about which such a variety of conjectures have been formed without success. This spring, or rather these two springs, are two holes, each about two feet diameter, a stone's cast distant from each other. The one is but about five feet and a half in depth, at least we could not get our plummet farther, perhaps because it was stopped by roots, for the whole place is full of trees. Of the other, which is somewhat less, with a line of ten feet we could find no bottom, and were assured by the inhabitants that none had ever been found. It is believed here that these springs are the vents of a great subterraneous lake ; and they have this circumstance to favour the opinion, that the ground is always moist, and so soft, that the water boils up
under

under foot, as one walks upon it : this is more visible after rains, for then the ground yields and sinks so much, that I believe it is chiefly supported by the roots of trees that are interwoven with one another. Such is the ground round about these fountains. At a little distance to the south is a little village named Guix, through which the way lies to the top of the mountain, from whence the traveller discovers a vast extent of land, which appears like a deep valley, though the mountain rises so imperceptibly, that those who go up or down it are scarce sensible of any declivity.

Divine honours are paid by the Agows of Damot to the Nile; they worship the river, and thousands of cattle have been offered, and still are offered, to the spirit supposed to reside at its source. They are divided into clans, or tribes; and it is worthy of observation, that it is said there never was a feud, or hereditary animosity between any two of these clans; or, if the seeds of any such were sown, they did not vegetate longer than till the next general convocation of all the tribes, who meet annually at the source of the river, to which they sacrifice, calling it by the name of the *God of Peace*. One of the least considerable of these clans, for power and number, has still the preference among its brethren, from the circumstance that, in its territory, and near the miserable village that gives it name, are situated the much sought-for springs from which the Nile rises.

Geesh, however, though not farther distant from these than 600 yards, is not in sight of the sources of the Nile. The country upon the same plain with the fountains, terminates in a cliff about 300 yards deep down to the plain of Asloa, which flat country continues in the same subaltern degree of elevation, till it meets the Nile again about seventy miles southward, after it has made the circuit of the provinces of Gojam and Damot,

A prodigious cave is in the middle of this cliff, in a direction straight north towards the fountains, whether the work of nature or art, Mr. Bruce cannot determine; in it are many bye-paths, so that it is very difficult for a stranger to extricate himself; it is a natural labyrinth, large enough to contain

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contain the inhabitants of the village, and their cattle. In this large cliff, Mr. Bruce tired himself part of several days, endeavouring to reach as far northward as possible; but the air, when he had advanced something above an hundred yards seemed to threaten to extinguish his candle by its dampness; and the people were besides not at all disposed to gratify his curiosity farther, after assuring him there was nothing at the end more remarkable than what he then saw, which he had reason to believe was the case. The face of this cliff, which fronts to the south, has a most picturesque appearance from the plain of Asfoa below, parts of the houses at every stage appearing, through the thickets of trees and bushes with which the whole face of the cliff is thickly covered; impenetrable fences of the very worst kind of thorn, hide the mouths of the caverns above mentioned, even from sight; there is no other communication with the houses either from above or below, but by narrow-winding sheep paths, which through these thorns are very difficult to be discerned, for all are allowed to be overgrown with the utmost wildness, as a part of their defence; lofty and large trees (most of them of the thorny kind) tower high up above the edge of the cliff, and seem to be a fence against people falling down into the plain; these are all at their proper season covered with flowers of different sorts and colours, so are the bushes below on the face of the cliff: every thorn in Abyssinia indeed bears a beautiful flower.

From the edge of the cliff of Geesh above where the village is situated, the ground slopes with a very easy descent due north, and lands you at the edge of a triangular marsh above eighty-six yards broad, in the line of the fountains, and two hundred and eighty-six yards two feet from the edge of the cliff above the house of the priest of the river, where Mr. Bruce resided.

Upon the rock in the middle of the plain, the Agows used to pile up the bones of the beasts killed in sacrifice, mixing them with billets of wood, after which they set them on fire. This is now discontinued, or rather transferred to another place near the church, as they are at present indulged

in

in the full enjoyment of their idolatrous rites, both under Fasil and Michael. In the middle of the marsh, near the bottom of the mountain of Geesh, arises a hillock of a circular form, about three feet from the surface of the marsh itself though apparently founded much deeper in it. The diameter of this is something short of twelve feet; it is surrounded by a shallow trench, which collects the water and voids it eastward; it is firmly built with sod or earthen turf, brought from the sides, and constantly kept in repair, and this is the altar upon which all their religious ceremonies are performed. In the middle of this altar is a hole, obviously made, or at least enlarged by the hand of man. It is kept clear of grass, or other aquatic plants, and the water in it is perfectly pure and limpid, but has no ebullition or motion of any kind discernable upon its surface. This mouth, or opening of the source, is some parts of an inch less than three feet diameter, and the water stood at that time, the 5th of November, about two inches from the lip or brim, nor did it either increase or diminish during all the time of his stay at Geesh, though they made plentiful use of it. This spring is about six feet six inches deep.

At the distance of ten feet from the first of these springs, a little to the west of south, is the second fountain, about eleven inches in diameter; but this is eight feet three inches deep. And about twenty feet distant from the first, is the third source, its mouth being something more than two feet large, and it is five feet eight inches deep. Both these last fountains stand in the middle of small altars, made like the former, of firm sod, but neither of them above three feet diameter, and having a foot of less elevation than the first. The altar in this third source seemed almost dissolved by the water, which in both stood nearly up to the brim; at the foot of each appeared a clear and brisk running rill; these uniting joined the water in the trench of the first altar, and then proceeded directly out, pointing eastward, in a quantity that would have filled a pipe of about two inches diameter. The water from these fountains is very light and good, and perfectly tasteless; it was at this time most intensely cold, though exposed to the mid day sun without shelter, there being no trees nor bushes

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bushes nearer it than the cliff of Geesh on its south side, and the trees that surround Saint Michael Geesh on the north, which, according to the custom of Abyssinia, is, like other churches, planted in the midst of a grove.

On the 5th of November, the day after Mr. Bruce's arrival at Geesh, the weather perfectly clear, cloudless and nearly calm, in all respects well adapted to observation, being extremely anxious to ascertain, beyond the power of controversy, the precise spot on the globe that this fountain had so long occupied unknown, he pitched his tent on the north edge of the cliff, immediately above the priest's house, having verified the instrument with all the care possible, both at the zenith and horizon. With a brass quadrant of three feet radius, by one meridian altitude of the sun's upper limb, all necessary equations and deductions considered, he determined the latitude of the place of observation to be $10^{\circ} 59' 11''$; and by another observation of the same kind made on the 6th, $10^{\circ} 59' 8''$; after which, by a medium of thirty three observations of stars, the largest and nearest, the first vertical, he found the latitude to be $10^{\circ} 59' 10''$; a mean of which being $10^{\circ} 59' 9\frac{1}{2}''$, say $10^{\circ} 59' 10''$. The longitude he ascertained to be $36^{\circ} 55' 30''$ east of the meridian of Greenwich.

On the night of the 4th, the very night of Mr. Bruce's arrival, melancholy reflections upon his present state, the doubtfulness of his return in safety, were he permitted to make the attempt, and the fears that even this would be refused, according to the rule observed in Abyssinia with all travellers who have once entered the kingdom; the consciousness of the pain that he was then occasioning to many worthy individuals, expecting daily that information concerning his situation, which it was not in his power to give them; some other thoughts, perhaps still nearer the heart than those, crowded upon his mind, and forbade all approach of sleep. He was, at that very moment, in possession of what had, for many years, been the principal object of his ambition and wishes: indifference, (which from the usual infirmity of human nature follows, at least for a time, complete enjoyment) had taken place of it. The marsh, and the fountains, upon comparison with the rise of many of our rivers, became now
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a trifling object in his sight. He remembered that magnificent scene in his own native country, where the Tweed, Clyde and Annan rise in one hill ; three rivers, as he now thought, not inferior to the Nile in beauty, preferable to it in the cultivation of those countries through which they flow ; superior, vastly superior to it in the virtues and qualities of the inhabitants, and in the beauty of its flocks, crowding its pastures in peace, without fear of violence from man or beast. He had seen the rise of the Rhine and Rhone, and the more magnificent sources of the Soane : he began in his sorrow to treat the inquiry about the source of the Nile as a violent effort of a distempered fancy. Grief or despondency now rolling upon him like a torrent, relaxed, not refreshed, by unquiet and imperfect sleep, he started from his bed in the utmost agony ; he went to the door of his tent ; every thing was still ; the Nile, at whose head he stood, was not capable either to promote or interrupt his slumbers ; but the coolness and serenity of the night braced his nerves, and chased away those phantoms that, while in bed, had oppressed and tormented him.

Numerous dangers, hardships and sorrows had indeed beset him through this half of his excursion ; but it was still as true, that another Guide, more powerful than his own courage, health, or understanding, if any of these can be called man's own, had uniformly protected him in all that tedious half ; he found his confidence not abated, that still the same Guide was able to conduct him to his now wished for home. He immediately resumed his former fortitude, considered the Nile indeed as no more than rising from springs, as all other rivers do, but widely different in this, that it was the palm for three thousand years held out to all nations in the world as a *detur dignissimo*, which, in his cool hours he had thought was worth attempting at the risk of his life, which he had long either resolved to loose, or lay this discovery, a trophy in which he could have no competitor, for the honour of his country, at the feet of his sovereign, whose servant he was.

Mr. Bruce had procured from the English ships, while at Jidda, some quicksilver, perfectly pure, and heavier than the common sort ; warming therefore the tube gently at the fire,

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he filled it with this quick silver, and, to his great surprise, found that it stood at the height of 22 English inches. Suspecting that some air might have insinuated itself into the tube, he laid it by in a warm part of the tent, covered till morning, and returning to bed, slept there profoundly till six, when, satisfied the whole was in perfect order, he found it to stand at 22 English inches; neither did it vary sensibly from that height any of the following days he stayed at Geesh; and thence he inferred, that, at the sources of the Nile, he was then more than two miles above the level of the sea; a prodigious height to enjoy a sky perpetually clear, as also a hot sun never over-cast for a moment with clouds from rising to setting. On the 6th of November, at a quarter past five in the morning, Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 44°, at noon 96°, and at sun-set 46°. It was, as to sense, cold at night, and still more so an hour before sunrise.

The Nile keeping nearly in the middle of the marsh, runs east for thirty yards, with a very little increase of stream, but perfectly visible, till met by the grassy brink of the land-declining from Sacala. This turns it round gradually to the N. E. and then due north; and, in the two miles it flows in that direction, the river receives many small contributions from springs that rise in the banks on each side of it: there are two particularly one on the hill at the back of St. Michael Geesh, the other a little lower than it on the other side, on the ground declining from Sacala. These last mentioned springs are more than double its quantity; and being arrived under the hill whereon stands the church of St. Michael Sacala, about two miles from its source, it there becomes a stream that would turn a common mill, shallow, clear, and running over a rocky bottom about three yards wide: this must be understood to be variable according to the season; and the present observations are applicable to the 5th of November, when the rains had ceased for several weeks.

Our traveller says, nothing can be more beautiful than this spot; the small rising hills about them were all thick covered with verdure, especially with clover, the largest and finest he ever saw; the tops of the heights crowned with trees of a prodigious size; the stream, at the banks of which they were

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sitting, was limpid and pure as the finest chrysal ; the ford, covered thick with a bushy kind of tree that seemed to affect to grow to no height, but, thick with foliage and young branches, rather to court the surface of the water, whilst it bore, in prodigious quantities, a beautiful yellow flower, not unlike a single wild rose of that colour, but without thorns.

After having stepped over the ford fifty times, he observed it no larger than a common mill stream. The Nile from this ford turns to the westward, and, after running over loose stones occasionally, in that direction, about four miles farther, the angle of inclination increasing greatly, broken water and a fall commences of about six feet, and thus it gets rid of the mountainous place of its nativity, and issues into the plain of Goutto, where is its first cataract. Arrived in the plain of Goutto, the river seems to have lost all its violence, and scarcely is seen to flow ; but, at the same time it there makes so many sharp, unnatural windings, that it differs from any other river Mr. Bruce ever saw, making about twenty sharp angular peninsulas in the course of five miles, through a bare, marshy plain of clay, quite destitute of trees, and exceedingly inconvenient and unpleasant to travel. After passing this plain, it turns due north, receives the tribute of many small streams, the Gometti, the Googueri, and the Keb-ezza, which descend from the mountains of Aformasha ; and united fall into the Nile about twenty miles below its source ; it begins here to run rapidly, and again receives a number of beautiful rivulets, which have their rise in the heights of Litchambara, the semicircular range of mountains that pass behind, and seem to inclose Aformasha. Here it begins to become a considerable stream ; its banks high and broken, covered with old timber trees for the space of about three miles ; it inclines to the north-east, and winds exceedingly, and is then joined by the small river Diwa from the east. As the mere names of places, through which the Nile passes, can afford very little amusement to our readers, we shall only observe, that it empties itself at last into the Mediterranean.

Mr. Bruce now proceeds to investigate the reason of the inundations of the Nile, and observes, that it is an observation, which

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which holds good through all the works of Providence, that although God, in the beginning, gave an instance of his almighty power, by creating the world with one single *fiat*, yet, in the laws he has laid down for the maintaining order and regularity in the details of his creation, he has invariably produced all these effects by the least degree of power possible, and by those means that seem most obvious to human conception. But it seemed, however, not according to the tenor of his ways and wisdom, to create a country like Egypt, without springs, or even dews, and subject it to a nearly vertical sun, that he might save it by so extraordinary an intervention as was the annual inundation, and make it the most fertile spot of the universe.

Whatever were the conjectures of the dreamers of antiquity, modern travellers and philosophers, describing without system or prejudice what their eye saw, have found that the inundation of Egypt has been effected by natural means, perfectly consonant with the ordinary rules of Providence, and the laws given for the government of the rest of the universe. They have found that the plentiful fall of the tropical rains produced every year at the same time, by the action of a violent sun, has been uniformly, without miracle, the cause of Egypt being regularly overflowed. The sun being nearly stationary for some days in the tropic of Capricorn, the air there becomes so much rarified, that the heavier winds, charged with watery particles, rush in upon it from the Atlantic on the west, and from the Indian Ocean on the east. The south wind, moreover, loaded with heavy vapour, condensed in that high ridge of mountains not far south of the Line, which forms a spine to the peninsula of Africa, and, running northward with the other two, furnish wherewithal to restore the equilibrium.

The sun, having thus gathered such a quantity of vapours as it were to a focus, now puts them in motion, and drawing them after it in its rapid progress northward, on the 7th of January, for two years together, seemed to have extended its power to the atmosphere of Gondar, when, for the first time, there appeared in the sky, white, dappled, thin clouds, the
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sun being then distant 34° from the zenith, without any one cloudy or dark speck having been seen for several months before. Advancing to the Line with increased velocity, and describing larger spirals, the sun brings on a few drops of rain at Gondar the 1st of March, being then distant 5° from the zenith; these are greedily absorbed by the thirsty soil, and this seems to be the farthest extent of the sun's influence, capable of causing rain, which then only falls in large drops, and lasts but a few minutes: the rainy season, however, begins most seriously upon its arrival at the zenith of every place, and these rains continue constant and increasing after he has passed it, in his progress northward. Before this, green boughs and leaves appear floating in the Bahar el Abiad, and shew that, in the latitude where it rises, the rains are already abundant. The Galla, who inhabit, or have passed that river, give account of its situation, which lies, as far as Mr. Bruce could ever calculate, about 5° from the line.

In April, all the rivers in Amhara, Begemder, and Lassa, first discoloured, and then beginning to swell, join the Nile in the several parts of its course nearest them; the river then, from the height of its angle inclination, forces itself through the stagnant lake without mixing with it. In the beginning of May, hundreds of streams pour themselves from Gojam, Damot, Maitsha, and Dembea, into the lake Tzana, which had become low by intense evaporation, but now begins to fill insensibly, and contributes a large quantity of water to the Nile, before it falls down the cataract of Alata. In the beginning of June, the sun having passed all Abyssinia, the rivers there are all full, and then is the time of the greatest rains in Abyssinia, while it is for some days, as it were, stationary in the tropic of Cancer.*

Immediately after the sun has passed the Line, he begins the rainy season to the southward, still as he approaches the zenith of each place; but the situation and necessities of this country being varied, the manner of promoting the inundation is changed. A high chain of mountains run from about 6° south all along the middle of the continent towards the Cape of Good hope, and intersects the southern part of the peninsula,

peninsula, nearly in the same manner that the river Nile does the northern. A strong wind from the south, stopping the progress of the condensed vapours, dashes them against the cold summits of this ridge of mountains, and forms many rivers which escape in the direction either east or west, as the level presents itself. If this is towards the west, they fall down the sides of the mountains into the Atlantic, and if on the east, into the Indian Ocean.

“To the immense labours and fatigues of the Portuguese,” says Lobo, “mankind is indebted for the knowledge of the real cause of these inundations, so great and so regular. Their observations inform us, that Abyssinia, where the Nile rises and waters vast tracts of land, is full of mountains; and in its natural situation much higher than Egypt; that, all the winter, from June to September, no day is without rain; that the Nile receives, in its course, all the rivers, brooks, and torrents which fall from those mountains; these necessarily swell it above the banks, and fill the plains of Egypt with the inundation. This comes regularly about the month of July, or three weeks after the beginning of a rainy season in Ethiopia.

Three remarkable appearances attend the inundation of the Nile. Every morning in Abyssinia is clear, and the sun shines; about nine, a small cloud, not above four feet broad, appears in the east, whirling violently round as if upon an axis, but arrived near the zenith, it first abates its motion, then loses its form, extends itself greatly, and seems to call up vapours from all opposite quarters. These clouds, having attained nearly the same height, rush against each other with great violence. The air, impelled before the heaviest mass, or swiftest mover, makes an impression of its own form in the collection of clouds opposite, and the moment it has taken possession of the space made to receive it, the most violent thunder possible to be conceived instantly follows, with rain; after some hours, the sky again clears, with a wind at north, and it is always disagreeably cold when the thermometer is below 63°.

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The second thing remarkable is the variation of the thermometer ; when the sun is in the southern tropic, 36° distant from the zenith of Gondar, it is seldom lower than 72° ; but it falls to 60° and 59° when the sun is immediately vertical ; so happily does the approach of rain compensate the heat of a too scorching sun.

The third is, that remarkable stop in the extent of the rains northward, when the sun, that has conducted the vapours from the Line, and should seem, now more than ever, to be in possession of them, is here overruled suddenly, till, on its return to the zenith of Gerri, again it resumes the absolute command over the rain, and reconducts it to the line to furnish distant deluges to the southward.

Mr. Bruce says it is in February, March, or April only, the plague begins in Egypt. Mr. Bruce does not believe it an endemial disease, but rather thinks it comes from Constantinople with merchandize, or passengers, and at this time of the year, that the air having attained a degree of putridity proper to receive it by the long absence of dews, the infection is thereto joined, and continues to rage till it is suddenly stopped by the dews occasioned by a refreshing mixture of rain-water, which is poured out into the Nile at the beginning of the inundation.

The first and most remarkable sign of the change brought about in the air is the sudden stopping of the plague at St. John's day. Every person, though shut up from society for month's before, buys, sells, and communicates with his neighbour without any sort of apprehension ; and it ~~was~~ never known, as far as Mr. Bruce could learn upon fair inquiry, that one fell sick of the plague after this anniversary : it will be observed Mr. Bruce does not say *died* ; there are, examples of that, though he believes but few ; the plague is not always a disease that suddenly terminates ; it often takes a considerable time to come to a head, appearing only by symptoms ; so that people taken ill, under the most putrid influence of the air, linger on, struggling with the disease which has already

ready got such hold that they cannot recover; but what Mr. Bruce says he means is, that no person is taken ill of the plague so as to die after the dew has fallen in June; and no symptoms of the plague are ever commonly seen in Egypt but in those spring months already mentioned, the greater part of which are totally destitute of moisture.

Mr. Bruce then mentions a circumstance, which is universally known, and cannot be denied. The Turks and Moors are known to be predestinarians; they believe the hour of man's death is so immutably fixed, that nothing can either advance or defer it an instant. Secure in this principle, they expose in the market-place, immediately after St. John's day, the clothes of the many thousands that have died during the late continuance of the plague, all which imbibe the moist air of the evening and the morning, are handled, bought, put on and worn without any apprehension of danger; and though these consist of furs, cotton, silk and woollen cloths, which are stuffs the most retentive of the infection, no accident happens to those who wear them, from this their happy confidence.

Mr. Bruce now returns back to his guide Woldo, whom they had left settling their reception with the chief of the village of Geesh. They found the measures taken by this man such as convinced them at once of his capacity and attachment. The miserable Agows, assembled all around him, were too much interested in the appearance our travellers made, not to be exceedingly inquisitive how long their stay was to be among them. They saw, by the horse driven before them, that they belonged to Fasil, and suspected, for the same reason, that they were to maintain them, or, in other words, that they should live at discretion upon them as long as they choose to tarry there; but Woldo, with great address, had dispelled these fears almost as soon as they were formed. He informed them of the king's grant to Mr. Bruce of the village of Geesh; that Fasil's tyranny and avarice would end that day, and another master, like Negade Ras Georgis, was come to pass a cheerful time among them, with a resolution to pay for every labour they were ordered to

to perform, and purchase all things for ready money : he added, moreover, that no military service was further to be exacted from them, either by the king or governor of Danot, nor from their present master, as he had no enemies. They found this news had circulated with great rapidity, and they met with a hearty welcome upon their arrival at the village.

Woldo had asked a house from the Shum, who very civilly had granted Mr. Bruce his own : it was just large enough to serve him, but they were obliged to take possession of four or five others, and they were scarcely settled in these, when a servant arrived from Fasil to intimate to the Shum his surrender of the property and sovereignty of Geeth to Mr. Bruce, in consequence of a grant from the king : he brought with him a fine, large milk white cow, two sheep, and two goats ; the sheep and goats Mr. Bruce understood were from Welleta Yafous. Fasil also sent them six jars of hydromel, fifty wheat loaves of very excellent bread, and to this Welleta Yafous had added two middle sized horns of excellent strong spirits. Their hearts were now perfectly at ease, and they passed a very merry evening. Woldo, who had done his part to great perfection, and had reconciled the minds of all the people of the village to our travellers, had a little apprehension for himself ; he thought he had lost credit with Mr. Bruce, and therefore employed the servant of Ayto Aylo to desire Mr. Bruce not to speak of the fash to Fasil's servant. Our traveller assured him, that, as long as he saw him acting properly, as he now did, it was much more probable he should give him another fash on their return, than complain of the means he had used to get this last. This entirely removed all his fears, and indeed as long after as he was with them, he every day deserved more and more their commendations.

Woldo was now perfectly happy ; he had no superior or spy over his actions ; he had explained himself to the Shum, that they should want somebody to buy necessaries to make bread for our travellers, and to take care of the management of their house. They displayed their lesser articles for barter to the Shum, and told him the most considerable purchases,

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such as oxen and sheep, were to be paid in gold. He was struck with the appearance of our travellers wealth, and the generosity of their proposals, and told Woldo that he insisted, since they were in his houses, they would take his daughters for their house-keepers. The proposal was a most reasonable one, and readily accepted. He accordingly sent for three in an instant, and they delivered them their charge. The eldest took it upon her readily, she was about sixteen years of age, of a stature above the middle size, but she was remarkably genteel, and, colour apart, her features would have made her a beauty in any country in Europe; she was, besides, very sprightly; they understood not one word of her language, though she comprehended very easily the signs that they made. This nymph of the Nile was called by nick name Irpone, which signifies some animal that destroys mice, but whether of the ferret or snake kind, Mr. Bruce could not perfectly understand; sometimes it was one, and sometimes another, but which it was he thought of no great importance.

After disposing of some of their stock in purchases, she thought herself obliged to render our travellers an account, and give back the residue at night to Woldo, with a protestation that she had not stolen nor kept any thing to herself. Mr. Bruce looked upon this regular accounting as an ungenerous treatment of their benefactress. Mr. Bruce called on Woldo, and made him produce a parcel that contained the same with the first commodities they had given her; and this consisted of beads, antimony, small scissars, knives, and large needles. He then brought out a packet of the same that had not been broken, and told her, they were intended to be distributed among her friends, and that they expected no account from her; on the contrary, that, after she had bestowed these, to buy them necessaries, and for any purposes she pleased, he had still as many more to leave her at parting, for the trouble she had given herself. Mr. Bruce often thought the head of the little savage would have turned with the possession of so much riches, and so great confidence, and it was impossible to be so blinded, as not to see that our traveller had already made great progress in her affections.

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To the number of trifles he had added one ounce of gold, value about fifty shillings sterling, which he thought would defray their expenses all the time they staid; and having now perfectly arranged the economy of their family, nothing remained but to make the proper observations.

As the houses are all clay and straw, there was no place for fixing his clock; he was therefore obliged to employ a very excellent watch made for him by Ellicot. The dawn now began, and a few minutes afterwards every body was at their doors; every one crowded to see them, and they breakfasted in public with very great cheerfulness. The white cow was killed, and every one was invited to his share of her. The Shom, priest of the river, would likewise have been of the party, but he declined either sitting or eating with them, though his sons were not so scrupulous.

Once a year, upon this principal fountain and altar already mentioned, on the first appearance of the dogstar, (or, as others say, eleven days after) this priest assembles the heads of the clans; and having sacrificed a black heifer that never bore a calf, they plunge the head of it into this fountain; they then wrap it up in its own hide, so as no more to be seen, after having sprinkled the hide within and without with water from the fountain. The carcass is then split in half, and cleaned with extraordinary care; and, thus prepared, it is laid upon the hillock over the first fountain, and washed all over with its water, while the elders or considerable people, carry water in their hands joined (it must not be in any dish) from the two other fountains; they then assemble upon the small hill a little west of St. Michael, (it used to be the place where the church now stands) there they divide the carcass into pieces corresponding to the number of the tribes, and each tribe has its privilege, or pretensions, to particular parts, which are not in proportion to the present consequence of the several clans. Geesh has a principal slice, though the most inconsiderable territory of the whole; Sacala has the next; and Zeegam, the most considerable of them all in power and riches, has the least of the whole. After having ate this carcass raw, according to their custom, and drunk the

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Nile water, to the exclusion of any other liquor, they pile up the bones on the place where they sit, and burn them to ashes.

This used to be performed where the church now stands; but Ras Sela Christos, some time after, having hearen the Agows, and desirous, at the Jesuits instigation, to convert them to Christianity, he demolished their altar where the bones were burnt, and built a church upon the site, the doors of which Mr. Bruce believes, were never opened since that reign, nor is there now, as far as he could perceive, any Christian there who might wish to see it frequented. After Sela Christos had demolished their altar by building this church, they ate the carcass, and burnt the bones, on the top of the mountain of Geesh, out of the way of profanation, where the vestiges of this ceremony may yet be seen; but probably the fatigue attending this, and the great indifference their late governors have had for Christianity, have brought them back to a small hillock by the side of the marsh, west of St. Michael's church, and a little to the southward, where they perform this solemnity every year, and they will probably resume their first altar when the church is fallen to ruins, which they are every day privately hastening.

Having finished their bloody banquet, they carry the head, close wrapt from sight in the hide, into the cavern, which they say reaches below the fountains, and there, by a common light, without torches, or a number of candles, as denoting a solemnity, they perform their worship, the particulars of which Mr. Bruce never could learn; it is a piece of free-masonry, which every body knows, and nobody ventures to reveal. At a certain time of the night they leave the cave, but at what time, or by what rule, our traveller could not learn; neither would they tell him what became of the head, whether it was ate, or buried, or how consumed. The Abyssinians have a story, probably created by themselves, that the devil appears to them, and with him they eat the head, swearing obedience to him upon certain conditions, that of sending rain, and a good season for their bees and cattle; however

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this may be, it is certain, that they pray to the spirit residing in the river, whom they call the Everlasting God, Light of the World, Eye of the World, God of Peace, their Saviour, and Father of the Universe.

Their landlord, the Shum, made no scruple of reciting his prayers for seasonable rain, for plenty of grass, for the preservation of serpents, at least of one kind of this reptile; he also deprecated thunder in these prayers, which he pronounced very pathetically, with a kind of tone or song; he called the river "Most High God, Saviour of the World;" of the other words Mr. Bruce could not well judge, but by the interpretation of Woldo. Those titles, however, of divinity which he gave to the river, he could perfectly comprehend without an interpreter, and for these only he is a voucher.

Mr. Bruce asked the priest, into whose good graces he had purposely insinuated himself, if ever any spirit had been seen by him? He answered, without hesitation, Yes; very frequently. He said he had seen the spirit the evening of the 3d, (just as the sun was setting) under a tree, which he showed our traveller at a distance, who told him of the death of a son, and also that a party from Fasil's army was coming; that, being afraid, he consulted his serpent, who ate readily and heartily, from which he knew no harm was to betel him from his visitors. Mr. Bruce asked him if he could prevail on the spirit to appear to him. He said he could not venture to make that request. He said he was of a very graceful figure and appearance; he thought rather older than middle age; but he seldom chose to look at his face; he had a long white beard; his clothes not like theirs of leather, but like silk, of the fashion of the country. Mr. Bruce asked him how he was certain it was not a man? he laughed, or rather sneered, shaking his head, and saying, "No, no, it is no man, but a spirit." Mr. Bruce then desired to know why he prayed against thunder. He said, because it was hurtful to the bees, their great revenue being honey and wax: then why he prayed for serpents? he replied, Because they taught him the coming of good or evil. It seems they have all several of these creatures in the neighbourhood,

bourhood, and the richer sort always in their houses, whom they take care of, and feed before they undertake a journey, or any affair of consequence. They take this animal from his hole, and put butter and milk before him, of which he is extravagantly fond; if he does not eat, ill fortune is near at hand.

Before an invasion of the Galla, or an inroad of the enemy, they say these serpents disappear, and are no where to be found. Fasil, the sagacious and cunning governor of the country, was, as it was said, greatly addicted to this species of divination, insomuch as never to mount his horse, or go from home, if an animal of this kind, which he had in his keeping, refused to eat.

The Shum's name was Kessa Abay, or Servant of the River; he was a man about seventy, not very lean, but infirm, fully as much so as might have been expected from that age. He conceived that he might have had eighty-four or eighty-five children. That honourable charge which he possessed had been in his family from the beginning of the world, as he imagined. Indeed, if all his predecessors had as numerous families as he, there was no probability of the succession devolving to strangers. He had a long white beard, and very moderately thick; an ornament rare in Abyssinia, where they have seldom any hair upon their chin. He had round his body a skin wrapt and tied with a broad belt. Above this he wore a cloak with the hood up, and covering his head: he was bare-legged, but had sandals, much like those upon ancient statues; these, however he put off as soon as ever he approached the bog where the Nile rises, which our travellers were all likewise obliged to do. They were allowed to drink the water, but make no other use of it. None of the inhabitants of Geesh wash themselves or their clothes in the Nile, but in a stream that falls from the mountain of Geesh down into the plain of Assoa, which runs south, and meets the Nile in its turn northward, passing the country of the Gafats and Congas.

The Agows, in whose country, the Nile rises, are, in point of number, one of the most considerable nations in Abyssinia;

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when their whole force is raised, which seldom happens, they can bring to the field 4000 horse, and a great number of foot: they were, however, once much more powerful; several unsuccessful battles, and the perpetual inroads of the Galla, have much diminished their strength. The country, indeed, is still full of inhabitants; but from their history we learn, that one clan, called Zeegam, maintained singly a war against the king himself, from the time of Socinios to that of Yafous the Great, who, after all, overcame them by surprise and stratagem; and that another clan, the Denguis, in like manner maintained the war against Facilidas, Hannes I. and Yafous II. all of them active princes. Their riches, however, are still greater than their power, for though their province in length is no where sixty miles, nor half that in breadth, yet Gondar, and all the neighbouring country, depend for the necessaries of life, cattle, honey, butter, wheat, hides, wax, and a number of such articles, upon the Agows, who come constantly in succession, a thousand and fifteen hundred at a time, loaded with these commodities, to the capital. As the dependence upon the Agows is for their produce rather than on the forces of their country, it has been a maxim with wise princes, to compound with them for an additional tribute, instead of their military service; the necessities of the times have sometimes altered these wise regulations, and between their attachment to Fasil, and afterwards to Ras Michael, they have been very much reduced, whereby the state hath suffered.

It may naturally be supposed, that in a long carriage, such as that of a hundred miles in such a climate, butter must melt, and be in a state of fusion, consequently very near putrefaction; this is prevented by the root of an herb, called Mocmoco, yellow in colour, and in a shape nearly resembling a carrot; this they bruise and mix with their butter, and a very small quantity preserves it fresh for a considerable time; and this is a great saving and convenience, for, supposing salt was employed, it is very doubtful if it would answer the intention; besides, salt is a money in this country, being circulated in the form of wedges, or bricks; it serves the purpose of silver coin, and is the change of gold: so that this herb is of the utmost use in preventing the increase in price of this necessary

essary article, which is the principal food of all ranks of people in this country.

Besides the market of Gondar, the neighbouring black savages, the woolly-headed Shangalla, purchase the greatest part of these commodities from them, and many others, which they bring from the capital when they return thence; they receive in exchange elephants' teeth, rhinoceros' horns, gold in small pellets, and a quantity of very fine cotton, of which goods they might receive a much greater quantity, were they content to cultivate trade in a fair way, without making inroads upon these savages for the sake of slaves, and thereby disturbing them in their occupations of seeking for gold and hunting the elephant.

The clothing of the Agows is all of hides, which they soften and manufacture in a method peculiar to themselves, and this they wear in the rainy season, when the weather is cold, for here the rainy seasons are of long duration and violent, which still increases the nearer you approach the Line. The younger sort are chiefly naked, the married women carrying their children about with them upon their backs; their clothing is like a shirt down to their feet, and girded with a belt or girdle about their middle; the lower part of it resembles a large double petticoat, one ply of which they turn back over their shoulders, fastening it with a broach, or skewer, across their breast before, and carrying their children in it behind. The women are generally thin, and, like the men, below the middle size. There is no such thing as barrenness known among them. They begin to bear children before eleven; they marry generally about that age, and are marriageable two years before: they close child bearing before they are thirty, though there are several instances to the contrary.

Besides what they sell, and what they pay to the governor of Damot, the Agows have a particular tribute which they present to the king: one thousand dabra of honey, each dabra containing about sixty pounds weight, being a large earthen vessel. They pay, moreover, fifteen hundred oxen
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and 1000 ounces of gold ; formerly the number of jars of honey was four thousand, but several of these villages being daily given to private people by the king, the quantity is diminished by the quota so alienated. The butter is all sold ; and, since the fatal battle of Benja, the king's share comes only to about one thousand jars. The officer that keeps the accounts, and sees the rents paid, is called Agow Miziker ; his post is worth one thousand ounces of gold ; and by this it may be judged with what economy this revenue is collected.

Though Mr. Bruce had with him two large tents sufficient for his people, he was advised to take possession of the banks to secure their mules and horses from thieves in the night, as also from the assaults of wild beasts, of which the country is full. Almost every small collection of houses has behind it a large cave, or subterraneous dwelling, dug in the rock, of a prodigious capacity, and which must have been a work of great labour. It is not possible at this distance of time, to say whether these caverns were the ancient habitation of the Agows when they were Troglodytes, or whether they were intended for retreats upon any alarm of an irruption of the Galla into their country.

On the 9th of November, Mr. Bruce having finished his memorandum relating to these remarkable places, traced again on foot the whole course of this river from its source to the plain of Goutto. He was unattended by any one, having with him only two hunting dogs, and his gun in his hand. The quantity of game of all sorts, especially the deer kind, was, indeed, surprising ; but though he was, as usual, a very successful sportsman, he was obliged, for want of help, to leave each deer where he fell. They sleep in the wild oats, and do not rise till you are about to tread upon them, and then stare at you for half a minute before they attempt to run off.

Our travellers having now finished their business, nothing remained but to depart. They had passed their time in perfect harmony ; the address of Woldo, and the great attachment of their friend Irepone, had kept their house in a cheer-

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ful abundance. They had lived, it is true, too magnificently for philosophers, but neither idly nor riotously; and he believes never will any *sovereign* of Geesh be again so popular, or reign over his subjects with greater mildness. Mr. Bruce had practised medicine gratis, and killed, for three days successively, a cow each day for the poor and the neighbours. He had clothed the high priest of the Nile from head to foot, as also his two sons, and decorated two of his daughters with beads of all the colours of the rainbow, adding every other little present they seemed fond of, or that our travellers thought would be agreeable. As for their amiable Irepone, they had reserved for her the choicest of their presents, the most valuable of every article they had with them, and a large proportion of every one of them; they also gave her some gold; but she, more generous and nobler in her sentiments than they, seemed to pay little attention to these that announced to her the separation from her friends; she tore her fine hair, which she had every day before braided in a newer and more graceful manner; she threw herself upon the ground in the house, and refused to see our travellers mount on horseback, or take their leave; and came not to the door till they were already set out, then followed them with her good wishes and her eyes as far as she could see or be heard.

Mr. Bruce took his leave of Kefla Abay, the venerable priest of the most famous river in the world, who recommended him with great earnestness to the care of his God, which, as one of our travellers humourously enough observed, meant nothing less than he hoped the devil would take him. All the young men in the village, with lances and shields, attended them to Saint Michael Sacala, that is, to the borders of their country, and end of Mr. Bruce's little sovereignty.

TRAVELS

TO DISCOVER THE

SOURCE OF THE NILE.

BOOK VII.

RETURN FROM THE SOURCE OF THE NILE TO GONDAR:
MR. BRUCE PREPARES TO LEAVE ABYSSINIA.

ON the 10th of November 1770, our travellers left Geesh in their return to Gondar, and passed the Abay, under the church of St. Michael Sacala. The next day, they continued their journey in their former road, and in the afternoon they halted at the house of Shalaka Welled Amlac, with whom Mr. Bruce was well acquainted at Gondar; his house is called Welled Abea Abbo, from a church of Abbo about an eighth part of a mile distant.

Here Mr. Bruce settled with his former guide Woldo, to his perfect satisfaction, and cancelled entirely the memory of some disagreeable things that had passed. He then committed our travellers very solemnly to Ayto Aylo's servant, in presence of Welled Amlac, and then took his leave.

On the 12th of November, having settled their account with their host they set out from the hospitable house of Shalaka Welled Amlac. At the house of Welled Amlac Mr. Bruce was made acquainted with a peculiar custom which prevails through all Malitsha and the country. A stranger, to establish a relationship in every family where he is hospitably entertained

tertained, is always obliged, without ceremony, with some young lady of the family. Their landlord accompanied them in person to the ford, and by this, and his readiness to shew them what he thought worthy of their curiosity, and by his care in ascertaining for them the distances and situations of places, he gave them a certain proof he was well contented, and therefore that they had nothing to fear.

They gained with difficulty the middle of the river, where the bottom was firm, and there they rested a little. Whilst they were wading near the other side, they found foul ground, but the water was shallow, and the banks low and easy to ascend. The river side, as far as they could see, was bare and destitute of wood of any kind, only bordered with thistles and high grass, and the water tinged deep with red earth, of which its banks are composed. This passage is called Delakus, and is passable from the end of October to the middle of May. Immediately on the top of the hill ascending from the river is the small town of Delakus, which gives this ford its name; it is more considerable in appearance than is the generality of these small towns or villages in Abyssinia, because inhabited by Mahometans only, a trading, frugal, intelligent, and industrious people.

Their conductor, Welled Amlac, put our travellers in mind of the service he had rendered them, and they were not unmindful of him. He had been received with very great respect at the last place, and it is incredible with what expedition he swallowed near a pound of raw flesh cut from the buttocks of the animal yet alive. After some horns of hydromel, he passed to the other side, where he was received with still more affection, if possible, by Welleta Michael, and there he began again to eat the raw meat with an appetite as keen as if he had fasted for whole days; he then consigned our travellers to Ayto Welleta Michael, his friend, who furnished them with a servant to conduct them on their way, while he himself remained that night at the ford.

They left the ford at five in the evening, and, pursuing their journey north, they passed the small town of Delakus, continuing along the hill among little spots of brush-wood, and small fields of corn intermixed.

Maitsha,

Maitsha, the place our travellers were now preparing to leave, is governed by ninety-nine Shums, and is an appendage of the office of Betwudet, to whom it pays two thousand ounces of gold. The people are originally of those Galla west of the Abay. Yafous the great, when at war with that people, who, in many preceding reigns, had laid waste the provinces of Gojam and Damot, and especially Agow, when he passed the Abay, found these people at variance among themselves; and the king, who was every where victorious, being joined by the weakest, advanced to Narea, and, on his return, transplanted these Galla into Maitsha, placing part of them along the Nile to guard the passes. His successors at different times followed his example; part they settled in Maitsha, and part along the banks of the Nile in Damot and Gojam, where, being converted to Christianity, at least to such Christianity as is professed in Abyssinia, they have increased exceedingly, and amounted, at least before the war in 1768, to 15,000 men, of whom about 4000 are horsemen.

Mr. Bruce's servants and baggage arrived at Gondar, while he himself went to Koscam, and thus finished their long projected expedition, or journey, to the fountains of the Nile, having, in their return home, made, as it were, the chord of the arch of their former journey, or about ninety-three miles.

It was not till the 23d of November, owing to the troubles that then reigned in the capital of Abyssinia, that Mr. Bruce saw the Iteghé. She sent for him early in the morning, and had a large breakfast prepared: she looked very much worn out and indisposed. When he came first into her presence, he kneeled, with his forehead to the ground. She put on a very serious countenance, and, without desiring him to rise, said gravely to her people about her, "There, see that madman, who, in times like these, when we the natives of the country are not safe in our own houses, rashly, against all advice, runs out into the fields to be hunted like a wild beast by every robber, of which this country is full." She then made him a sign to rise, which he did, and kissed her hand. "Madam, (said he) if I did this, it was in consequence of the good lessons your majesty deigned to give me."—"Me! (says she) with surprise, was it I that advised you, at such a time as this, to
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put yourself in the way of men like Coque Abou Barea, and Woodage Asahel, to be ill used, robbed, and probably murdered?"—"No, (said Mr. Bruce) madam, you certainly never did give me such advice; but you must own that every day I have heard you say, when you was threatened by a multitude of powerful enemies, that you was not afraid, you was in God's hands, and not in theirs. Now, madam, Providence has hitherto protected you: I have, in humble imitation of you, had the same Christian confidence, and I have succeeded. I knew I was in God's hands, and therefore valued not the bad intentions of all the robbers in Abyssinia."

Mr. Bruce next proceeds to give the history of the Abyssinians during his residence among them. This subject employs several sheets; but as they contain only a detail of horrid rebellions, battles, blood and slaughter, and such as the readers of this abridgment can be no ways interested in, we shall content ourselves with observing, that Mr. Bruce seems to have shewn great courage in several instances, and on that account was presented by the king with a large chain of gold, with very massy links, which he doubled twice, and then put it over Mr. Bruce's neck. The chain consisted of 184 links, each of them weighing 3 1-12 penny weights of fine gold. "It was with the utmost reluctance, (says Mr. Bruce) that, being in want of every thing, I sold a great part of this honourable distinction at Sennaar in my return home. It is hoped my successors will never have the same excuse I had for further diminishing this honourable monument which I have left them."

After the troubles had ceased, and Ras Michael, of whom we have before spoken, was sent away prisoner from Gondar, the queen returned to Koscam, where Mr. Bruce passed a great part of his time; but his health declining every day, he had obtained, with great difficulty, liberty from her to attempt his return home. The king, too, after a hundred exceptions and provisos, had at length been brought to give an unwilling consent.

Capt. Thomas Price, of the Lion of Bombay, had been obliged, by his business with the government of Mecca, to
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continue at Jidda, till the season after Mr. Bruce went from thence to Abyssinia. He had already heard once from him, and now a second time. He informed Mr. Bruce that his countrymen had been in the greatest pain for him; that several reports had been current, both at Jidda and Mocha, of his having been assassinated; sometimes it was said by the Naybe of Masuah; sometimes that it had happened at Gondar; by others at Sennaar, in his return home. Captain Price wrote in this last letter, that, thinking Mr. Bruce must be distressed for want of money, he had left orders with Ibrahim Seraff, the English broker at Jidda, to advance him one thousand crowns, desiring his draft to be sent to Ibrahim, directed to him or his brother at Bombay, and to make it payable to a gentleman of that name who lived in Smithfield.

Mr. Bruce's resolution being now taken, and leave obtained, he considers this as the proper place to resume the account of his finances. Mr. Bruce had occasionally borrowed from a Greek, whose name was Petros. This man was originally a native of the island of Rhodes which he must have left early, for he was not at this time much past thirty; he had been by trade a shoemaker. For what reason he left his own country, Mr. Bruce does not know, but he was of a very pleasing figure and address, though very timid. The height very much distinguished him, and the king had made him Azeleffa el Carmitha, which answers precisely to groom of the stole, or first lord of the bed chamber in England. Being pliant, civil, and artful, and always well-dressed, he had gained the good graces of the whole court; he was also rich, as the king was generous, and his perquisites not inconsiderable.

After one of the campaigns, in which a dwarf was shot who was standing before Ras Michael, and the palace set on fire in the fray which followed, the crown, which was under Petros's charge, was melted; the gold, indeed, that it consisted of, was afterwards found, but there was said to have been on the top of it a pearl, or jewel, of immense price and size, larger than a pigeon's egg; and this, whatever it was, had disappeared, being in all probability consumed by the fire. Ras Michael, on the contrary, believed that it had been taken

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out by Petros with a view to sell it, and for this reason he had constantly refused him liberty to leave Abyssinia, and had kept him always in fear, that some day or other he would strip him of all that he had saved. While Michael was besieging the mountain Haramat, Petros beseeched Mr. Bruce to take 30l. of him, and gave him his first, second, and third bill of exchange, upon Messrs. Julian and Rosa, his correspondents at Cairo, payable a month after sight, to the Maronite Bishop of Mount Sinai, after which he set out for his own country, *in forma pauperis*, and thereby escaped the rapacity of both Ras Michael and the Naybe of Masuah. As for the bill, it came duly to hand, and was paid to the bishop, who would very fain have received for each of the duplicates, and was near being bastinadoed for insisting upon this before the Bey at Cairo.

Mr. Bruce had made a shew, and, as he himself says, with some degree of ostentation, of sending his gold chain to Cairo by the hands of Metical Aga's servant, declaring always that it was the only piece of Abyssinian gold he should carry out of the country, which he was to leave, both in fact and appearance a *pauper*. Mules are the only beasts for carriage commonly used in Abyssinia, though bulls and cows, of a particular kind, are bought for the purpose by carriers, merchants, and such like in that country, especially near the mines or quarries of salt; they are very slow, however, and capable of no great burden, though very easily maintained. Mr. Bruce had abundance of mules of his own for carrying his instruments and baggage, and the king and Itgehé furnished him with others for his own riding. He had, besides, two favourite horses, which he intended to attempt to carry home, foolishly enough; for though he thought in his own mind, that he was sufficiently informed of, and prepared for all sorts of hardships, he had not foreseen the hundredth part of the difficulties and dangers that were then awaiting him.

Since the Itgehé had returned, Mr. Bruce always lived at Boscam by her own desire, as her health was very precarious since her residence in Gojam. This suited his intention of withdrawing privately, and therefore, not to multiply the number

number of leave takings, he had reduced his whole attendance to the king and queen.

Mr. Bruce's whole attention was now taken up in preparations for his return through the kingdom of Sennaar and the desert. Mr. Bruce does not wish to take up the reader's time with a long narrative of leave taking, or what passed between him and those illustrious personages with whom he had lived so long in the most perfect and cordial friendship. Men of little, and envious minds, would perhaps think he was composing a panegyric upon himself, from which therefore, he says, he most willingly refrains.

Mr. Bruce then mentions what passed at the last interview he had with the Iteghé, two days before his departure. Tensfa Christos, who was one of the chief priests of Gondar, was a native of Gojam, and consequently of the low church, or a follower of Abba Eustathius, in other words, as great an enemy as possible to the Catholic, or as they call it, *the religion of the Franks*. He was, however, reputed a person of great probity and sanctity of manners, and had been on all occasions rather civil and friendly to Mr. Bruce when they met, though evidently not desirous of any intimate connections or friendship; and as Mr. Bruce, on his part, expected little advantage from connecting himself with a man of his principles, he very willingly kept at all possible distance.

This priest came often to the Iteghé's and Ayto Aylo's, with both of whom he was much in favour, and here Mr. Bruce happened to meet him, when he was taking his leave in the evening. "I beg of you, (said he) Yagoube, as a favour, to tell me, now you are immediately going away from this country, and you can answer me without fear, Are you really a Frank, or are you not?"—"Sir, (said Mr. Bruce) I do not know what you mean by fear; I should as little decline answering you any question you have to ask had I ten years to stay, as now I am to quit this country to-morrow; I came recommended, and was well received by the king and Ras Michael: I neither taught nor preached; no man ever heard me say a word about my particular mode of worship; and as often as my duty has called me, I have never failed to attend
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divine service as it is established in this country. What is the ground of fear that I should have while under the king's protection, and customs of Abyssinia?" "True, (replied Tensa Christos) I do not say you should be alarmed; whatever your faith is I would defend you myself; the Iteghé knows I always spoke well of you; but will you gratify an old man's curiosity, in telling me whether or not you really are a Frank, Catholic, or Jesuit?"

"I have too great a regard, (replied Mr. Bruce) to the request of a man, so truly good and virtuous as you, not to have answered you the question at whatever time you could have asked me; and I do now declare to you, by the word of a Christian, that my countrymen and I are more distant in matters of religion, from these you call Catholics, Jesuits, or Franks, than you and your Abyssinians are; and that a priest of my religion, preaching in any country subject to those Franks, would as certainly be brought to the gallows as if he had committed murder, and just as speedily as you would stone a Catholic priest preaching here in the midst of Gondar. Every man in our country is allowed to serve God in his own way; and as long as their teachers confine themselves to what the sacred books have told them, they can teach no ill, and therefore deserve no punishment. No religion, indeed, teaches a man evil; but, when forgetting this, they preach against government, curse the king, absolve his subjects from allegiance, or incite them to rebellion, as being lawful, the sword of the civil power cuts them off, without any blame falling upon their religion, because these things were done in contradiction to what their priests, from the scripture, should have taught them were truly the tenets of that very religion." The Iteghé now interposed, and the subject was dropped.

Mr. Bruce then got up, and, passing to the other side of the room, he stood by Tensa Christos, saying to him, "And now, holy father, I have one, last favour to ask you, which is your forgiveness, if I have at any time offended you; your blessing, now that I am immediately to depart, if I have not; and your prayers while on my long and dangerous journey, through countries of Infidels and Pagans."

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A hum of applause sounded all throughout the room. The Iteghé said something, but what, Mr. Bruce did not hear. Tensa Christos was surprised apparently at Mr. Bruce's humility, which he had not expected, and cried out, with tears in his eyes, "Is it possible, Yagoube; that you believe my prayers can do you any good?"—"I should not be a Christian, as I profess to be, Father, (replied Mr. Bruce) if I had any doubt of the effect of good men's prayers." So saying, he stopped to kiss his hand, when he laid a small iron cross upon his head, and, to our traveller's great surprise, instead of a benediction, repeated the Lord's prayer. Mr. Bruce was afraid he would have kept him stooping till he should add the ten commandments likewise, when he concluded, "Gzier y' Baracuc," May God bless you. After which, Mr. Bruce made his obeisance to the Iteghé, and immediately withdrew, it not being the custom, at public audiences, to salute any one in the presence of the sovereign.

Twenty greasy monks, however, had placed themselves in his way as he went out, that they might have the credit of giving him the blessing likewise after Tensa Christos. As he had very little faith in the prayers of these drones, so he had some reluctance to kiss their greasy hands and sleeves; however, in running this disagreeable gauntlet, he gave them his blessing in English,—“Lord send you all a halter, as he did to Abba Salama,” (meaning the Acab Saat.) But they, thinking he was recommending them to the patriarch Abba Salama, pronounced at random, with great seeming devotion, their amen,—So be it.

TRAVELS

TRAVELS

TO DISCOVER THE

SOURCE OF THE NILE.

BOOK VIII.

MR. BRUCE RETURNS BY SENNAAR THROUGH NUBIA AND
THE GREAT DESERT—ARRIVES AT ALEXANDRIA,
AND AFTERWARDS AT MARSEILLES.

ON the 26th of December, 1771, at one o'clock in the afternoon, Mr. Bruce left Gondar. He had purposed to set out early in the morning, but was detained by the importunity of his friends. The king had delayed his setting out, by several orders sent him in the evening each day; and he plainly saw there was some meaning in this, and that he was wishing to throw difficulties in the way, till some accident, or sudden emergency (never wanting in that country) should make it absolutely impossible for him to leave Abyssinia. When therefore the last message came to Koscam on the 27th, at night, Mr. Bruce returned his respectful duty to his majesty, put him in mind of his promise, and somewhat peevishly, he believes, intreated him to leave him to his fortune; that his servants were already gone, and he was resolved to set out next morning.

The next morning early, Mr. Bruce was surprised at the arrival of a young nobleman, lately made one of his bed-chamber, with fifty light horse. As he was satisfied, that leaving Abyssinia, without parade, as privately as possible, was

was the only way to pass through Sennaar, he therefore insisted upon none of his friends accompanying him, and he begged to decline this escort. At one o'clock, Mr. Bruce set out by the west side of Debra Tzai, having the mountain on their right hand. From the top of that ascent, they saw the plain and flat country below, black, and, in its appearance, one thick wood, which some authors have called lately, the Shumeta, or Nubian forest.

All the disasters which Mr. Bruce had been threatened with in the course of the journey, which he had thus begun, now presented themselves to his mind, and made, for a moment, a strong impression upon his spirits. But it was too late to draw back, the die was cast, for life or for death; home was before him, however distant; and if, through the protection of Providence, he should be fortunate enough to arrive there, he promised himself both ease and the applause of his country, and of all unprejudiced men of sense and learning in Europe, for having, by his own private efforts alone, completed a discovery, which had, from early ages, defied the address, industry, and courage of all the world.

Having rather hardened, than comforted his heart by these reflections, he now advanced down the steep side of the mountain, through very strong and rugged ground, torn up by the torrents that fall on every side from above. This is called the Descent of Moura; and though both they and their beasts were in great health and spirits, they could not, with their utmost endeavours, advance much more than one mile an hour. Two Greeks, one of whom only was his servant, and a third, nearly blind, flying from poverty and want; an old janissary, who had come to Abyssinia with the Abuna, and Copht who left them at Sennaar; these and some common men who took charge of the beasts, and were to go no further than Tcherkin, were his only companions in this long and weary journey.

On the 28th they entered a thick wood, winding round a hill, in a south east direction, to get into the plain below, where they were surrounded by a great multitude of men, armed with lances, shields, slings and large clubs or sticks, who

who rained a shower of stones towards them : but they were at such a distance, that all of them fell greatly short of them. Whether this was owing to fear, or not, they did not know ; but supposing that it was, they thought it their interest to keep it up as much as possible. Mr. Bruce therefore ordered two shots to be fired over their heads ; not with any intention to hurt them, but to let them hear, by the balls whistling among the leaves of the trees, that their guns carried farther than any of their slings ; and that, distant as they then were, they were not in safety, if they had a disposition to do harm. They seemed to understand their meaning, by gliding through among the bushes, and appearing at the top of a hill farther off, where they continued hooping, and crying, and making signs, which our travellers could not, neither did they endeavour to understand.

While resting on the banks of the river Mogetch, they had been overtaken by two men, and two women, who were driving two loaded asses, and were going to Tcherkin ; they had desired leave to keep company with our travellers, for fear of danger on the road. Mr. Bruce had two Abyssinian servants, but they were not yet come up, attending one of the baggage mules that was lame. They were obliged then to have recourse to one of these stranger women, who understood the language of Tigré, and undertook readily to carry their message to a stranger, who was still very busy making signs from behind a tree, without coming one step nearer.

Mr. Bruce's message to them was, that if they shewed the smallest appearance of further insolence, either by approaching the tent, or slinging stones that night, the next morning, when the horse he expected were come up, he would burn their town, and put every man of them to the sword. A very submissive answer was sent back, with a heap of lies in excuse of what they called their mistake. His two servants coming soon after, both of whom hereafter, were to be in the service of Ayto Confu, went boldly one to each village, to bring two goats, some jars of bouza, and to prepare fifty loaves of bread for next morning. The goats were dispatched in-

stantly, so was the bouza ; but when the morning came, the people had all fled from their houses, without preparing any bread. These villages were called Gimbaar. They were three in number ; each situated upon the top of a pointed hill, in a direction from east to west, and made a very beautiful appearance from the plain below.

On the 29th, they left the inhospitable villages of Gimbaar, not without entertaining some apprehensions of meeting the inhabitants again in the course of the day. But though they took every precaution against being surprised, that prudence could dictate, their fears of the encounter did not rise to any great height. M. Bruce got, indeed, on horseback, leaving his mule, and, putting on his coat of mail, leaving the fire-arms under the command of Hagi Ismael the old Turk, he rode always about a quarter of a mile before the baggage, that they might not come suddenly upon them, as they had done the night before. However, they met with no opposition, but proceeded on to Waalia, and at half past four in the afternoon encamped in the market place.

Waalia is a collection of villages, each placed upon the top of a hill, and inclosing, as in a circle, an extensive flat piece of ground about three miles over, on which a very well frequented market is kept. The name is given it from a species of small pigeons, with yellow breasts and variegated back, the fairest and best of all the pigeon kind. Waalia lies due N. W. from Gondar.

On the 30th, they set out from Waalia, and proceeded along the Mai Lumi, or the river of Lemons. A prodigious quantity of fruit loaded the branches of these trees even likely to break them ; and these were in all stages of ripeness. Multitudes of blossoms covered the opposite part of the tree, and sent forth the most delicious odour possible. They provided themselves amply with this fruit. The natives make no use of it, but our travellers found it a great refreshment to them, both mixed with their water, and as sauce to their meat, of which they had now no great variety since their onions had failed them, and a supply of them was no longer to be procured.

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They soon after reached the pass of Dav-Dohha, a very narrow defile, full of strata of rocks, like steps of stairs, but so high, that, without leaping, or being pulled up, no horse or mule can ascend. Besides, the descent, though short, is very steep, and almost choaked up by huge stones, which the torrents, after washing the earth from about them, had rooled down from the mountain above. Both sides of the defile are covered thick with wood and bushes, especially that detestable thorn the kantuffa, so justly reprobated in Abyssinia. Having extricated themselves successfully from this pass, their spirits were so elated, that they began to think their journey now at an end, not reflecting how many passes, full of real danger, were still before them.

On the morning of the 2d of January 1772, Mr. Bruce having dressed his hair, perfumed it according to the custom of the country, and put on clean clothes, with no other arms but his knife, and a pair of pistols at his girdle, came out of his tent to mount the mule for Tcherkin. He now saw Confu's servant, whose name was Welleta Yafous, pulling the Guinea-fowls and pigeons out of the pannier, where his servants had put them, and scattering them upon the ground, saying to those who interrupted him, "Throw away this carrion; you shall have a better breakfast and dinner to-day;" and, turning to Mr. Bruce, more than ordinarily pleased at seeing him dressed, and that he continued to use the Abyssinian habit, he jumped upon his mule, and appeared in great spirits. They all set out at a brisker pace than usual, by the assistance of the two fresh mules.

They passed through the midst of several small villages, and at last Mr. Bruce pitched his tent in the market place at Tcherkin, which seemed a beautiful lawn laid out for pleasure, shaded with fine old trees, of an enormous height and size, and watered by a small but very limpid brook, running over beds of pebbles as white as snow.

The impatient Welleta Yafous would only give Mr. Bruce time to see his quadrant and other instruments safely stowed, but hurried him through a very narrow and crooked path up the side of the mountain, at every turn of which was placed a
great

great rock or stone, the station for muskets to enfilade the different stages of the road below, where it was strait for any distance. They at last reached the other court, where Mr. Bruce saw a great many of his old acquaintance, whom he had known at Ozoro Esther's house at Gondar, and who all welcomed him with the greatest demonstrations of joy, as if he had come from a long journey.

Mr. Bruce was then taken into an inner apartment, where, to his great surprise, instead of Ayto Confu, he saw his mother, Ozoro Esther, sitting on a couch, and at her feet the secretary's daughter, the beautiful Tecla Mariam; and, soon after, the secretary himself, and several others belonging to the court. After having made a profound obeisance, "Ozoro Esther, (said Mr. Bruce) I cannot speak for surprise. What is the meaning of your having left Gondar to come into this wilderness? As for Tecla Mariam, I am not surprised at seeing her; I know at any time she would rather die than leave you; but that you have both come hither without Ayto Confu, and in so short a time, is what I cannot comprehend." "There is nothing so strange in this, (replied Ozoro Esther) the troops of Begemder have taken away my husband, Ras Michael, God knows where; and, therefore, being now a single woman, I am resolved to go to Jerusalem to pray for my husband, and to die there, and be buried in the holy sepulchre. You would not stay with us, so we are going with you. Is there any thing surprising in all this?"

"But tell me truly, (said Tecla Mariam) you that know every thing, while peeping and poring through these long glasses, did not you learn by the stars that we were to meet you here?" "Madam, (answered Mr. Bruce) if there was one star in the firmament that had announced to me such agreeable news, I should have relapsed into the old idolatry of this country, and worshipped that star for the rest of my life." Breakfast now came in; the conversation took a very lively turn, and from the secretary our traveller learned that the matter stood thus: The king, restoring the villages to the Iteghé, according to the stipulation of his last treaty with Powussen, thought that he might so far infringe upon it, from gratitude

gratitude to Ras Michael, as to give part of the number to Ozoro Esther, the Iteghé's daughter ; and Ayto Confu, going to Tcherkin to hunt, he took his mother along with him to put her in possession ; for the Iteghé's people were not lambs, nor did they pay much regard to the orders of the king, nor to that of the Iteghé their mistress.

They now wanted only the presence of Ayto Confu to make their happiness complete ; he came about four, and with him Ayto Engedan, and a great company. There was nothing but rejoicing on all sides. Seven ladies, relations and companions of Ozoro Esther, came with Ayto Confu ; and Mr. Bruce confesses this to have been one of the happiest moments of his life. He quite forgot the disastrous journey he had before him, and all the dangers that awaited him. He began even to regret being so far in his way to leave Abyssinia for ever.

Ayto Confu's house at Tcherkin is built on the edge of a precipice, which takes its name from the mountain Amba Tcherkin. It is built all with cane very artificially, the outer wall being composed of fascines of canes, so neatly joined together as not to be penetrated by rain or wind. The entry is from the south side of it, very crooked and difficult, half way up the rock. On the east is a very plentiful spring, which furnishes the house with excellent water. Yet, after all, this house, though inaccessible, is not defensible, and affords very little safety to its master ; for the Shangalla, with flax, or any thing combustible, tied to the point of their arrows, would easily set it on fire if they once approached it ; and the Abyssinians with guns could as easily destroy it, as, on such occasions they wrap their balls in cotton wads. The inside of the state rooms were hung with long stripes of carpeting, and the floors covered with the same.

About Tcherkin is great plenty of game of every sort, elephants, rhinoceroses, and a great number of buffaloes, which differ nothing in form from the buffaloes of Europe or of Egypt, but very much in temper and disposition. They are fierce, rash, and fearless of danger ; and, contrary to the practice of any other creature not carnivorous, they attack
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the traveller and the hunter equally, and it requires address to escape from them. They seem to be, of all others, the creature the most given to ease and indulgence. They lie under the most shady trees, near large pools of water, of which they make constant use, and sleep soundly all the day long. The flesh of the female is very good when fat, but that of the male, hard, lean, and disagreeable. Their horns are used in various manners by the turners, in which craft the Abyssinians are very expert.

Though they were all happy to their wish in this enchanted mountain, the active spirit of Ayto Confu could not rest; he was come to hunt the elephant, and hunt him he would. All those that understood any thing of this exercise had assembled from a great distance to meet Ayto Confu at Tcherkin. He and Engedan, from the moment they arrived, had been overlooking, from the precipice, their servants training and managing their horses in the market-place below. Great bunches of the finest canes had been brought from Kuara for javelins; and the whole house was employed in fitting heads to them in the most advantageous manner. Mr. Bruce, though he says he should have been very well contented to have remained where he was, yet the preparations for sport of so noble a kind roused his spirits, and made him desirous to join in it. On the other hand, the ladies all declared, that they thought, by leaving them, they were devoting them to death or slavery, as they did not doubt, if the Shangalla missed the hunting party, they would come forward to the mountain and slay them all. But a sufficient garrison was left, and they were well assured that the Shangalla, being informed they were out, and armed, and knowing their numbers, would take care to keep close in their thickets far out of their way.

On the 6th, an hour before day, after a hearty breakfast, they mounted on horseback, to the number of about thirty belonging to Ayto Confu. But there was another body, both of horse and foot, which made hunting the elephant their particular business. These men dwell constantly in the woods, and know very little the use of bread, living entirely upon the flesh of the beasts they kill, chiefly that of the elephant or rhinoceros.

rhinoceros. They are exceedingly thin, light, and agile, both on horseback and foot; are very swarthy, though few of them black; none of them woolly-headed, and all of them have European features. They are called Agageer, a name of their profession, not of their nation, which comes from the word Agar, and signifies to hough or ham-string with a sharp weapon. More properly it means, indeed, the cutting the tendon of the heel, and is a characteristic of the manner in which they kill the elephant, which is shortly as follows: Two men, absolutely naked, without any rag or covering at all about them, get on horseback; this precaution is from fear of being laid hold of by the trees or bushes, in making their escape from a very watchful enemy. One of these riders sits upon the back of the horse, sometimes with a saddle, and sometimes without one, with only a switch or short stick in one hand, carefully managing the bridle with the other; behind him sits his companion, who has no other arms but a broad sword, such as is used by the Slavonians, and which is brought from Trieste. His left hand is employed grasping the sword by the handle, and about fourteen inches of the blade is covered with whip-cord. This part he takes in his right hand, without any danger of being hurt by it; and, though the edges of the lower part of the sword are as sharp as a razor, he carries it without a scabbard.

As soon as the elephant is found feeding, the horseman rides before him as near as possible; or, if he flies crosses him in all directions, crying out, "I am such a man and such a man; this is my horse, that has such a name; I killed your father in such a place, and your grand-father in such another place, and I am now come to kill you; you are but an ass in comparison of them." This nonsense he verily believes the elephant understands, who, chafed and angry at hearing the noise immediately before him, seeks to seize him with his trunk, or proboscis, and intent upon this, follows the horse every where, turning round with him frequently, neglectful of making his escape, by running straight forward, in which consists his only safety. After having made him turn once or twice in pursuit of the horse, the horseman rides close up along side of him, and drops his companion just behind on the

the off side ; and while he engages the elephant's attention upon the horse, the footman behind gives him a drawn stroke just above the heel, or what in man is called the tendon of Achilles. This is the critical moment ; the horseman immediately wheels round, and takes his companion up behind him, and rides off full speed after the rest of the herd, if they have started more than one ; and sometimes an expert agageer will kill three out of one herd. If the sword is good, and the man not afraid, the tendon is commonly entirely separated ; and if it is not cut through, it is generally so far divided, that the animal, with the stress he puts upon it, breaks the remaining part asunder. In either case he remains incapable of advancing a step, till the horseman returning, or his companions coming up, pierce him through with javelins and lances ; he then falls to the ground, and expires with the loss of blood,

The agageer nearest Mr. Bruce presently lamed his elephant, and left him standing. Ayto Engedan, Ayto Confu, Guebra Mariam, and several others, fixed their spears in the other, before the agageer had cut his tendons. Mr. Bruce's agageer, however, having wounded the first elephant, failed in the pursuit of the second, and, being close upon him at entering the wood, he received a violent blow from a branch of a tree which the elephant had bent by his weight, and, after passing, allowed it to replace itself, when it knocked down both the riders, and very much hurt the horse. This, indeed, is the great danger in elephant hunting ; for some of the trees, that are dry and short, break, by the violent pressure of so immense a body moving so rapidly, and fall upon the pursuers, or across the roads. But the greatest number of these trees, being of a succulent quality, they bend without breaking, and return quickly to their former position, when they strike both horse and man so violently, that they often beat them to pieces, and scatter them upon the plain. Dextrous, too, as the riders are, the elephant sometimes reaches them with his trunk, with which he dashes the horse against the ground, and then sets his feet upon him, till he tears him limb from limb with his proboscis ; a great many hunters die this way. Besides this, the soil, at this time of the year, is
split

split into deep chasms, or cavities, by the heat of the sun, so that nothing can be more dangerous than the riding.

As soon as the elephant is slain, they cut the whole flesh off his bones into thongs, like the reins of a bridle, and hang these, like festoons, upon the branches of trees, till they become perfectly dry, without salt, and they then lay them by for their provision in the season of the rains.

There now remained but two elephants of those that had been discovered, which were a she one with a calf. The Agageer would willingly have let these alone, as the teeth of the female are very small, and the young one is of no sort of value, even for food, its flesh shrinking much upon drying. But the hunters would not be limited in their sport. The people having observed the place of her retreat, thither they eagerly followed. She was very soon found, and as soon lamed by the Agageers; but when they came to wound her with the darts, as every one did in their turn, to their very great surprise, the young one which had been suffered to escape unheeded and unpursued, came out from the thicket apparently in great anger, running upon the horses and men with all the violence it was master of. Mr. Bruce was amazed, and as much as ever he was, upon such an occasion afflicted, at seeing the great affection of the little animal defending its wounded mother, heedless of its own life or safety. He therefore cried to them for God's sake to spare the mother, though it was then too late; and the calf had made several rude attacks upon Mr. Bruce, which he avoided without difficulty; but he says he is happy to this day, in the reflection that he did not strike it. At last, making one of its attacks upon Ayto Engedan, it hurt him a little on the leg; upon which he thrust it through with his lance, as others did after, and it then fell dead before its wounded mother, whom it had so affectionately defended.

“Here (Mr. Bruce says) is an example of a beast, a young one too, possessing abstracted sentiments to a very high degree. By its flight on the first appearance of the hunters, it is plain it apprehended danger to itself, it also reflected upon that of its mother, which was the cause of its return to her assistance.

sistance. This affection or duty, or let us call it any thing we please, except instinct, was stronger than the fear of danger ; and it must have conquered that fear by reflection before it returned, when it resolved to make its best and last efforts, for it never attempted to fly afterwards."

Mr. Bruce and his party then sought about for the buffaloes and rhinoceroses ; but though there was plenty of both in the neighbourhood, they could not find them ; their noise and shooting in the morning having probably scared them away. One rhinoceros was only seen by a servant. They returned in the evening to a great fire, and lay all night under the shade of trees.

The next morning they were on horseback by the dawn of day in search of the rhinoceros, many of which they had heard make a very deep groan and cry as the morning approached ; several of the Agageers then joined them, and after they had searched about an hour in the very thickest part of the wood, one of them rushed out with great violence, crossing the plain towards a wood of canes that was about two miles distance. But though he run, or rather trotted, with surprising speed, considering his bulk, he was, in a very little time, transfixed with thirty or forty javelins ; which so confounded him, that he lost his purpose of going to the wood, and ran into a deep hole, ditch, or ravine, a *cul de sac*, without outlet, breaking above a dozen of the javelins as he entered. Here they thought he was caught as in a trap, for he had scarce room to turn ; when a servant, who had a gun, standing directly over him, fired at his head, and the animal fell immediately, to all appearance dead. All those on foot now jumped in with their knives to cut him up, and they had scarce begun, when the animal recovered so far as to rise upon his knees ; happy then was the man that escaped first ; and had not one of the Agageers, who was himself engaged in the ravine, cut the sinew of the hind leg as he was retreating, there would have been a very sorrowful account of the foot hunters that day.

After having dispatched him, Mr. Bruce was curious to see what wound the shot had given, which had operated so violently upon so huge an animal ; and he doubted not it was in the
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the brain. But it had struck him no where but upon the point of the foremost horn, of which it had carried off above an inch; and this occasioned a concussion that had stunned him for a minute, till the bleeding had recovered him. Mr. Bruce preserved the horn from curiosity, and has it now by him.

They had not gone far before a wild boar arose between Mr. Bruce and Ayto Engaden, which our traveller immediately killed with his javelin. This was the sport Mr. Bruce had been many years used to in Barbary, and was infinitely more dextrous at it than any of the present company; this put him more upon a par with his companions, who had not failed to laugh at him, upon his horse's refusal to carry him near either to the elephant or rhinoceros.

Ammonios was a man of approved courage and conduct, and had been in all the wars of Ras Michael, and was placed about Ayto Confu, to lead the troops, curb the presumption, and check the impetuosity of that youthful warrior. He was tall, and awkwardly made; slow in speech and motion, so much as even to excite ridicule; about sixty years of age, and more corpulent than the Abyssinians generally are; in a word, as pedantic and grave in his manner as it is possible to express. He spent his whole leisure time in reading the scripture, nor did he willingly discourse of any thing else. He had been bred a foot soldier; and though he rode as well as many of the Abyssinians, yet, having long stirrup leathers, with iron rings at the end of them, into which he put his naked toe only instead of stirrups, he had no strength or agility on horseback, nor was his bridle such as could command his horse to stop, or wind and turn sharply among trees, though he might make a tolerable figure on a plain.

A boar, roused on our right, had wounded a horse and a footman of Ayto Confu, and then escaped. Two buffaloes were found by those on the right, one of which wounded a horse likewise. Ayto Confu, Engedan, Fuebra, Mariam, and Mr. Bruce killed the other with equal share of merit, without being in any sort of danger. All this was in little more than an hour, when their sport seemed to be at the best; their horses were considerably blown, not tired, and though they
were

were beating homewards, still they were looking very keenly for more game. Ammonios was on the left among the bushes, and some large, beautiful, tall spreading-trees, close on the banks of the river Bedowi, which stands there in pools. Whether the buffaloe found Ammonios, or Ammonios the buffaloe, is what they could never get him to explain to them; but he had wounded the beast slightly in the buttock, which, in return, had gored his horse, and thrown both him and it to the ground. Luckily, however, his cloak had fallen off, which the buffaloe tore in pieces, and employed himself for a minute with that and with the horse, but then left them, and followed the man as soon as he saw him rise and run. Ammonios got behind one large tree, and from that to another still larger. The buffaloe turned very awkwardly, but kept close in pursuit; and there is no doubt he would have worn out their companion, who was not used to such quick motion. Ayto Engedan, who was near him, and might have assisted him, was laughing, ready to die at the droll figure a man of Ammonio's grave carriage made, running and skipping about naked, with a swiftness he had never practised all his life before: and Engedan continued calling to Connu to partake of the diversion.

The moment Mr. Bruce heard his repeated cries, he galloped out of the bushes to the place where he was, and could not help laughing at his ridiculous figure, very attentive to the beast's motions, which seemed to dodge with great address, and keep to his adversary with the utmost obliquity. As soon as Engedan saw Mr. Bruce, he cried, "Yagase! for the love of Christ! for the love of the blessed virgin! don't interfere till Confu comes up." Confu immediately arrived, and laughed more than Engedan, but did not offer to interfere; on the contrary, he clapped his hands, and cried, "Well done, Ammonios," swearing he never saw so equal a match in his life. The unfortunate Ammonios had been driven from tree to tree, till he had got behind one within a few yards of the water; but the brush-wood upon the banks, and his attention to the buffalo, hindered him from seeing how far it was below him. Nothing could be more ridiculous than to see him holding the tree with both

his

his hands, peeping first one way, and then another, to see by which the beast would turn. And well he might be on his guard; for the animal was absolutely mad, tossing up the ground with his feet both before and behind. "Sir, (said Mr. Bruce, to Ayto Confu) this will be but an ugly joke to night, if we bring home that man's corpse, killed in the very midst of us, while we were looking on." Saying, this, he parted at a canter behind the trees, crying to Ammonios to throw himself into the water, when he should strike the beast; and seeing the buffalo's head turned from Mr. Bruce, at full speed, he ran the spear into the lower part of his belly, through his whole intestines, till it came out above a foot on the other side, and there he left it with a view to hinder the buffalo from turning. It was a spear which, though small in the head, had a strong, tough, seasoned shaft, which did not break by striking it against the trees and bushes, and it pained and impeded the animal's motions, till Ammonios quitting the tree, dashed through the bushes with some difficulty, and threw himself into the river. But here a danger occurred that Mr. Bruce had not foreseen. The pool was very deep, and Ammonios could not swim; so that though he escaped from the buffalo, he would infallibly have been drowned, had he not caught hold of some strong roots of a tree shooting out of the bank; and there he lay in perfect safety from the enemy till the servants went round, and brought him out of the pool on the further side.

In the mean time, the buffalo, mortally wounded, seeing his enemy had escaped, kept his eyes intent upon the hunters, who were about forty yards from him, walking backwards towards the company, with intent to turn suddenly upon the nearest horse; when Ayto Confu ordered two men with guns to shoot him through the head, and he instantly fell. The two they first killed were females: this last was a bull, and one of the largest, confessedly, that had ever been seen. Though not fat, Mr. Bruce supposes he weighed nearer fifty than forty stone. His horns from the root, following the line of their curve, were about fifty-two inches, and nearly nine where thickest in the circumference. They were flat, not round. Ayto Confu ordered the head to be cut off, and

cleared of its flesh, so that the horns and skeleton of the head only remained; this he hung up in his great hall among the probosces of elephants, and horns of rhinoceroses, with this inscription in his own language, "*Yagoube the Kipt killed this upon the Bedowi.*"

The evening of the day whereon they set out to hunt, some men arrived from Ras el Feel sent by Yafine, with camels for their baggage, nothing but mules being used at Tcherkin. They brought word, that the Shangalla were down near the Tacazze, so that now was the time to pass without fear; that Abd el Jeleel, the former Shum of Ras el Feel, Yafine's mortal enemy, had been seen lurking in the country near Sanchah; but as he had only four men, and was himself a known coward, it was not probable he would attempt any thing against our travellers, though it would be always better for them to keep on their guard.

Tcherkin has a market on Saturdays, in which raw cotton, cattle, honey, and coarse cotton cloths are sold. The Shangalla formerly molested Tcherkin greatly, but for thirty years past they had done little damage. The small pox raged so violently for a number of years among them, that it greatly diminished their numbers, and consequently their power of troubling their neighbours.*

On Wednesday the eighth of January, Mr. Bruce having rectified his quadrant with great attention, found the latitude of Tcherkin, to be $13^{\circ} 7' 35''$ north. But though from that time he was ready to depart, he could not possibly get disengaged from his friends, but by a composition, which was, that he should stay till the 15th, the day before Ozoro Esther and her company were to set out on their return to Gondar; and that they, on their part, should suffer Mr. Bruce to depart on that day, without further persuasion, or throwing any obstacle whatever in his way.

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* The Shangalla are a black nation surrounding all the N. N. W. and N. E. of Abyssinia. They traffic in gold, such as is brought down in torrents from the mountains.

On the morning of the 15th of January, they left Tcherkin, and entered immediately into thick woods; but proceeded very slowly, the road being bad and unknown, if it could be called a road, and their camels overloaded.

On the 17th in the morning, they came to Sancaho, an old frontier territory of Abyssinia. The town may consist of about three hundred huts or houses, neatly built of canes, and curiously thatched with leaves of the same. It rises in the midst of a plain, and resembles in shape Tcherkin Amba, though much larger: a considerable district all around belongs to it, of wilds and woods, if such as these, abandoned entirely to wild beasts, can be said to belong to any man. The east end slopes with rather a steep descent into the plain; and through that is a narrow winding road, seemingly the work of art, being obstructed at turns by huge stones, and at different stages, for the purpose of defence by guns or arrows; all the other sides of the rock are perpendicular precipices. The inhabitants of the town are Baasa, a race of Shangalla, converted to the Mahometan religion.

On the 20th, our travellers proceeded but a mile and a half; their beasts and themselves being equally fatigued, and their clothes torn all to rags, when they arrived at Guanjook, which is a very delightful spot by the river side; small woods of very high trees, interspersed with very beautiful lawns; several fields also cultivated with cotton; variety of game (especially Guinea fowls in great abundance) and, upon every tree, parroquets, of all the different kinds and colours, compose the beauties of Guanjook. Mr. Bruce saw no parrots, and supposes there were none; but on firing a gun, the first probably ever heard in those woods, there was such a screaming of other birds on all sides, some flying to the place whence the noise came, and some flying from it, that it was impossible to hear distinctly any other sound.

They continued their journey from thence, and at a quarter after one came to Mariam-Ohha, and at half past three arrived at Hor-Cacamoot. Hor, in that country, signifies the dry deep bed of a torrent, which has ceased to run; and Cacamoot, the shade of death; so that Yafine's village, where they

they now took up their quarters, is called the Valley of the Shadow of Death: A bad omen for weak and wandering travellers as they were, surrounded by a multitude of dangers, and so far from home, that there seemed to be but one that could bring them thither. They trusted in Him, and He did deliver them.

Hor-Cacamoot is situated in a plain in the midst of a wood, so much only of which has been cleared away as to make room for the miserable huts of which it consists, and for the small spots of ground on which they sow mashilla, or maize, to furnish them with bread. Their other food consists entirely of the flesh of the elephant and rhinoceros, and chiefly of the former, for the trouble of hunting the elephant is not greater than chasing the rhinoceros, and the difference of gain is much superior. The elephant has a greater quantity of better flesh, while his large teeth are very valuable, and afford a ready price every where. The inhabitants being little acquainted with the use of fire-arms, the smaller game of the deer kind are not much molested, unless by the wild Shangalla, who make use of bows and arrows, so that these animals are increased beyond imagination.

Ras el Feel consisted once of thirty-nine villages. All the Arabs of Atbara resorted to them with butter, honey, horses, gold, and many other commodities; and the Shekh of Atbara, living upon the frontier of Sennaar, entertained a constant good correspondence with the Shekh of Ras el Feel, to whom he sent yearly a Dongola horse, two razors, and two dogs. The Shekh of Ras el Feel, in return, gave him a mule and a female slave; and the effect of this intercourse was, to keep all the intermediate Arabs in their duty. But since the expedition of Yafous II. against Sennaar, no peace has ever subsisted between the two states; on the contrary, all the Arabs that assisted the king, and were defeated with him, pay tribute no longer to Sennaar, but live on the frontiers of Abyssinia, and are protected there.

On the 17th of March they set out from Hor-Cacamoot on their journey to Teawa, the capital of the province of Atbara.

On the 18th, at half after six in the morning, they continued their journey through thick, and almost impenetrable woods, full of thorns; and in two hours came to the bed of a torrent, which, though in appearance dry, upon digging with their hands in the loose sand, they found great plenty of fresh water exceedingly well tasted, being sheltered by projecting rocks from the action of the sun. This is called Surf el Shekh. Here they filled their girbas, for there is very little good water to be found between this and Teawa. A girba is an ox's skin squared, and the edges sewed together very artificially by a double seam, which does not let out water, much resembling that upon the best English cricket-balls. An opening is left in the top of the girba, in the same manner as the bung-hole of a cask. Around this the skin is gathered to the size of a large handful, which, when the girba is full of water, is tied round with whip-cord. These girbas generally contain about sixty gallons each, and two of them are the load of a camel. They are then all besmeared on the outside with grease, as well to hinder the water from oozing through, as to prevent its being evaporated by the action of the sun upon the girba, which in fact happened to them twice, so as to put them in imminent danger of perishing with thirst.

Yasine had provided a camel and two girbas, as well as every other provision necessary for them, till they should arrive at Teawa. Surf el Shekh is the boundary of Ras el Feel. Here Mr. Bruce took an affectionate leave of his friend Yasine, who, with all his attendants shewed, at parting, that love and attachment they had constantly preserved to Mr. Bruce since their first acquaintance.

On the 20th, our travellers arrived at Imferha, and from thence were two hours in going to Rashid, for they were flying for their lives; the *Simoon*, or hot-wind, having struck them not long after they had set out from Imferha, and their little company, all but Mr. Bruce, fell sick with the quantity of poisonous vapour that they had imbibed. Our traveller supposes, that from Rashid to Imferha it is about five miles; and though it is one of the most dangerous halting places between Ras el Feel and Sennaar, yet they were so enervated, their

their stomachs so weak, and their head-achs so violent, that they could not pitch their tent, but each wrapping himself in his cloak resigned himself immediately to sleep under the cool shade of the large trees, invited by the pleasant breeze from the north, which seemed to be merely local, confined to this small grove, created probably by the vicinity of the water, and the agitation they had occasioned in it.

In this helpless state to which they were reduced, Mr. Bruce alone continued not weakened by the Simoon, nor overcome by sleep. A Ganjar Arab, who drove an ass laden with salt, took this opportunity of stealing one of the mules, together with a lance and shield belonging to one of Mr. Bruce's servants. The country was so woody, and he had so much the advantage of them in point of time, and they were in so weak and discouraged a state, that it was thought in vain to pursue him one step. So he got off with his booty, unless he was intercepted by some of those wild beasts, which he would find every where in his way, whether he returned to Ras el Feel, or the frontiers of Kaura, his own country.

Having refreshed themselves with a little sleep, the next thing was to fill their girbas, or skins, with water. But before they attempted this, Mr. Bruce thought to try an experiment of mixing about twenty drops of spirit of nitre in a horn of water about the size of an ordinary tumbler. This he found greatly refreshed him, though his head-ach still continued. It had a much better effect upon his servants, to whom he gave it; for they all seemed immediately recovered, and their spirits much more so, from the reflection that they had with them a remedy they could trust to, if they should again be so unfortunate as to meet this poisonous wind or vapour.

On the 23d, which was the seventh day since they had left Ras el Feel, they arrived at Teawa, the principal village and residence of the Shekh of Athara, between three and four miles distant from the ruins of Garigana. The whole distance, then, from Hor-Cacamoot, may be about sixty-five miles to Teawa, as near as Mr. Bruce then could compute.

The strength of Teawa was about 25 horse, of which about ten were armed with coats of mail. They had about a dozen of firelocks, very contemptible from the order in which they were kept, and still more so from the hands that bore them. The rest of the inhabitants might amount to twelve hundred men, naked, miserable, and despicable Arabs, like the rest of those that live in villages, who are much inferior in courage to the Arabs that dwell in tents: weak as its state was, it was the seat of government, and as such, a certain degree of reverence attended it. Such was the state of Teawa. Its consequence was only to remain till the Daveina should resolve to attack it, when its corn fields being burnt and destroyed in a night by a multitude of horsemen, the bones of its inhabitants scattered upon the earth would be all its remains.

We may judge of the dangerous situation of Mr. Bruce at Teawa from what passed between him and Fidele, the Shekh, who was a man of a most infamous character. Mr. Bruce being sent for by the Shekh, he found him sitting in a spacious room, in an alcove, on a large broad Tofa like a bed, with India curtains gathered on each side into festoons. He called to a black boy who attended him, in a very surly tone, to bring him a pipe; and, in much the same voice, said to Mr. Bruce "What! alone?" Our traveller replied, "Yes, what are your commands with me?" Mr. Bruce saw he either was, or affected to be drunk, and which ever was the case, he knew it would lead to mischief; he therefore repented heartily of having come into the house alone.

After he had taken two whiffs of his pipe, and the slave had left the room, "Are you prepared? (said he) have you brought the *needful* along with you?" Mr. Bruce wished to have occasion to join Soliman, his servant, and answered, "My servants are at the outer door, and have the vomits you wanted." "D—n you and the vomit too, (said he with great passion) I want money, and not poison. Where are your piastres?" "I am a bad person (replied Mr. Bruce) to furnish you with either. I have neither money nor poison; but I advise you to drink a little warm water to clear your stomach, cool your head, and then lye down and compose yourself!"

yourself! I will see you to-morrow morning." Mr. Bruce was going out. "Haikim, (said he,) infidel, or devil, or whatever is your name, hearken to what I say. Consider where you are; this is the room where Mek Baady, a king, was slain by the hand of my father: look at his blood, where it has stained the floor, which never could be washed out. I am informed you have 20,000 piastras in gold with you; either give me 2000 before you go out of this chamber, or you shall die: I will put you to death with my own hand." Upon this he took up his sword, that was lying at the head of his sofa, and drawing it with a bravado, threw the scabbard into the middle of the room; and, tucking the sleeve of his shirt above his elbow like a butcher, said, "I wait your answer."

Mr. Bruce now stepped one pace backwards, and held the little blunderbuss in his hand, without taking it off the belt. He said, in a firm tone of voice, "This is my answer: I am not a man, as I told you before, to die like a beast, by the hand of a drunkard; on your life, I charge you, stir not from your sofa." He had no need to give this injunction; he heard the noise which the closing the joint in the stock of the blunderbuss made, and thought he had cocked it, and was instantly to fire. He let his sword drop, and threw himself on his back on the sofa, crying, "For God's sake, Haikim, I was but jesting." At the same time, with all his might, he cried, "Brahim! Mahomet! El coom! El coom."—"If one of your servants approach me, (said Mr. Bruce) that instant I will blow you to pieces; not one of them shall enter this room till they bring in my servants with them; I have a number of them armed at your gate, who will break in the instant they hear me fire."

The women had come to the door, and Mr. Bruce's servants were admitted, each having a blunderbuss in his hand, and pistols at his girdle. They were now greatly an overmatch for the Shekh, who sat far back on the sofa, and pretended that all he had done was in joke; in which his servants joined, and a very confused, desultory discourse followed, till the Turk, sheriffe Ismael, happened to observe the Shekh's scabbard of his sword thrown upon the floor, on which he fell into a violent fit of laughter. He endeavoured to make the
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Shekh understand, that drunkards and cowards had more need of the scabbard than the sword ; that he, Fidele, and the other drunkard that came to their house two or three nights before, who said he was Shekh of Jehaina, were just possessed of the same portion of courage and insolence.

As no good could be expected from this expostulation, Mr. Bruce stopt it, and took his leave, desiring the Shekh to go to bed and compose himself, and not try any more of these experiments, which would certainly end in his shame, if not in his punishment. He made no answer, only wished them good night.

Mr. Bruce and his servants went to the door, through the several apartments, very much upon their guard ; for there was no person to light them out, and they were afraid of some treachery or ambush in the antichamber and dark passages : but they met nobody ; and were, even at the outer gate, obliged to open the door themselves. Without the gate, there were about twenty people gathered together, but none of them with arms ; and, by the half words and expressions they made use of, they could judge they were not the Shekh's friends. They followed them for a little, but dispersed before they arrived at their house.

They had scarce got rid of this real danger, when the apprehension of an imaginary one struck them violently. The water at Teawa is stagnant in pools, and exceedingly bad. Either that, or the bouza, a kind of new beer which they sent them with their meat, had given all of them, at the same time, a violent diarrhoea, and Mr. Bruce was tormented with a perpetual thirst ever since they had been overtaken by the simoom ; and the bouza being acid was not only more agreeable, but, he thought, relieved him more than bad water ; in this, therefore, he certainly had exceeded. When they found they were all taken ill at the same time, it came into their heads that Shekh Fidele had given them poison in their dinner, and they were very much perplexed what they should do the next day. None of them, therefore, tasted the meat sent them ; when at night, their friend the black slave came, and to her they frankly told their doubts. The poor creature

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fell into such violent fits of laughing, which followed so close the one upon the other, and lasted so long, that Mr. Bruce feared she would have expired upon the spot. "It is the water (said she :) It does so to all strangers ;" and then she fell into another great fit of laughter. "Child, (answered Mr. Bruce) you know the Shekh is not our friend, and there is no easier way to get rid of us than by poison, as we eat every thing that comes from you without fear." "And so you may (said she) ; the Shekh could do no such thing without our knowledge, and we would rather all be burnt alive than be guilty of so vile an action. Besides (said she) this is not like Habesh, where both meat and drink, brought to you, are tasted by the bearer before you use them. There is no such thing as poison in Atbara ; the lance and the knife in the field, that is the manner in which they kill one another here."

They then shewed her their dinner uneaten, and she again fell into a violent fit of laughter, and took the meat away that she might warm it, and they heard her laughing all the way as she went by herself. She was not long in returning with provisions in plenty, and told them, that her mistresses never were so diverted in their lives, and that she left them still laughing.

During the whole of Mr. Bruce's stay at Teawa, the behaviour of Fidele was all of a piece, and it is probable our traveller would have finished his travels in that place, had not some of his powerful friends interested themselves in his security. However, after various impediments, on the 18th, they took leave of the Shekh to proceed on their journey. The day had been immoderately hot, and they had resolved to travel all night, though they did not say so to the Shekh, who advised them to sleep at Imgededema, where there was fresh water. But they had taken a girba of water with them, or rather, in case of accident, a little in each of the three girbas.

Their journey, for the first seven hours, was through a barren, bare, and sandy plain, without finding a vestige of any living creature, without water, and without grass ; a country that seemed under the immediate curse of heaven. However, after a most disagreeable journey, on the 19th, at eight in the evening,

evening, they arrived at Beyla. Mr. Bruce found Beyla to be in lat. $13^{\circ} 42' 4''$; that is, about eleven miles west of Teawa, and thirty-one and a half miles due south. They were met by Mahomet, the Shekh, at the very entrance of the town. He said, he looked upon them as risen from the dead; that they must be good people, and particularly under the care of Providence, to have escaped the many snares the Shekh of Atbara had laid for them. Mahomet, the Shekh, had provided every sort of refreshment possible for them, and, thinking they could not live without it, he had ordered sugar for them from Sennaar. Honey for the most part hitherto had been its substitute. They had a good comfortable supper; as fine wheat bread as ever Mr. Bruce ate in his life, brought from Sennaar, as also rice; in a word, every thing that their kind landlord could contribute to their plentiful and hospitable entertainment.

Our traveller's whole company was full of joy, to which the Shekh greatly encouraged them; and if there was any alloy to the happiness, it was the seeing that Mr. Bruce did not partake of it. Symptoms of an aguish disorder had been hanging about him for several days, ever since the diarrhoea had left him. He found the greatest repugnance, or nausea, at the smell of warm meat; and, having a violent headach, he insisted upon going to bed supperless, after having drank a quantity of warm water by way of emetic. Being exceedingly tired, he soon fell sound asleep, having first taken some drops of a strong spiritous tincture of the bark which he had prepared at Gondar, resolving, if he found any remission, as he then did, to take several good doses of the bark in powder on the morrow, beginning at day break, which he accordingly did with its usual success.

On the 20th April, a little after the dawn of the day, the Shekh, in great anxiety, came to the place where Mr. Bruce was lying upon a tanned buffaloe's hide, on the ground. His sorrow was soon turned into joy when he found him quite recovered from his illness. He had taken the bark, and expressed a desire of eating a hearty breakfast of rice, which was immediately prepared for him.

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The Shekh of Beyla was an implicit believer in medicine. Seeing him take some drops of the tincture before coffee, he insisted upon pledging Mr. Bruce, and he believe would have willingly emptied the whole bottle. The Shekh, having suffered great agony with his own complaint, had passed some small stones, and was greatly better, as he said, for the soap-pills. Mr. Bruce put him in a way to prepare these, as also his lime water. It was impossible to have done any favour for him equal to this, as his agony had been so great.

It was now the time to give the Shekh a present, and Mr. Bruce had prepared one for him, such as he very well deserved; but no entreaty, nor any means he could use, could prevail upon him to accept of the meereft trifle. On the contrary, he solemnly swore, that if Mr. Bruce importuned him further, he would get upon his horse and go into the country. All that he desired, and that too as a favour, was, that when Mr. Bruce had rested at Sennaar, he might come and consult him farther as to his complaints, for which he promised he should bring a recompence with him.

Though Mr. Bruce was much pleased with his reception here, he determined to press on to Sennaar before affairs there were in a desperate situation, or some scheme of mischief should be contrived by Fidele. They had again a large and plentiful dinner, and a quantity of bouza; venison of several different species of the antelope or deer kind, and Guinea-fowls boiled with rice, the best part of their fare, for the venison smelled and tasted strongly of musk. This was the provision made by the Shekh's two sons, boys about fourteen or fifteen years old, who had got each of them a gun with a match lock, and whose favour he secured to a very high degree, by giving them some good gunpowder, and plenty of small leaden bullets.

In the afternoon, they walked out to see the village, which is a very pleasant one, situated upon the bottom of a hill, covered with wood, all the rest flat before it. Through this plain there are many large timber trees, planted in rows, and joined with high hedges, as in Europe, forming enclosures for keeping cattle; but of these they saw none, as they had been moved to the Dender for fear of the flies. There is no water
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at Beyla but what is got from deep wells. Large plantations of Indian corn are every where about the town. The inhabitants are in continual apprehension from the Arabs Daveina at Sim Sim, about 40 miles south-east from them; and from another powerful race called Wed abd el Gin, *i. e.* *Son of the slaves of the Devil*, who live to the south-west of them, between the Dender and the Nile. Beyla is another frontier town of Sennaar, on the side of Sim Sim; and between Teawa and this, on the Sennaar side, and Ras el Feel, Nara, and Tehelga, upon the Abyssinian side, all is desert and waste, the Arabs only suffering the water to remain there without villages near it, that they and their flocks may come at certain seasons while the grass grows, and the pools or springs fill elsewhere.

Though Mr. Bruce went early to bed with full determination to set out by day-break, yet he found it was impossible to put his design in execution, or get from the hands of their kind landlord. One of their girbas seemed to fail, and needed to be repaired. Nothing good, as he truly said, could come from the Shekh of Atbara.

On the 21st of April, they left Beyla at three o'clock in the afternoon, and proceeded through a very pleasant, flat country, but without water; there had been none in their way nearer than the river Rahad. About eleven at night they alighted in a wood: The place is called Baherie, as near as they could compute, nine miles from Beyla.

On the 22d, at half past five o'clock in the morning, they left Baherie, still continuing westward, and at nine they came to the banks of the Rahad. The ford is called Tchir Chaira. The river itself was now standing in pools, the water foul, stinking, and covered with a green mantle; the bottom soft and muddy, but there was no choice. The water at Beyla was so bad, that they took only as much as was absolutely necessary till they arrived at running water from the Rahad.

On the 23d they met several men, on horseback and on foot, coming out from among the bushes, who endeavoured to carry off one of their camels. They indeed were somewhat alarmed, and were going to prepare for resistance. The

camel they had taken away had on it the king's and Shekh Adelan's presents, and some other things for their future need. Their clothes too, books, and papers, were upon the same camel. However, as this was only a contrivance to extort a present from Mr. Bruce, the matter was easily got over, and the camel restored.

On the 24th, they came to the river Dender, standing now in pools, but by the vast wideness of its banks, and the great deepness of its bed, all of white sand, it should seem that in time of rain it will contain nearly as much water as the Nile. The banks are every where thick overgrown with the rack and juheb-tree, especially the latter. The wood, which had continued mostly from Beyla, here failed entirely, and reached no farther towards Sennaar. These two sorts of trees, however, were in very great beauty, and of a prodigious size.

At 6 o'clock in the evening, they set out from a shady place of repose on the banks of the Dender, through a large plain, with not a tree before them; but they presently found themselves encompassed with a number of villages, nearly of a size, and placed at equal distances in form of a semi-circle, the roofs of the houses in shape of cones, as are all those within the rains. The plain was all of a read, soapy earth, and the corn just sown. This whole country is in perpetual cultivation, and though at this time it had a bare look, would no doubt have a magnificent one when waving with grain. At 9 they halted at a village of Pagan Nubia. These are all soldiers of the Mek of Sennaar, cantoned in these villages, which, at the distance of four or five miles, surround the whole capital. They are either purchased or taken by force from Tazuelo, and the provinces to the south upon the mountains Dyre and Tegla. Having settlements and provisions given them, as also arms put into their hands, they never wish to desert, but live a very domestic and sober life.

They pay adoration to the moon; and that their worship is performed with pleasure and satisfaction, is obvious every night that she shines. Coming out from the darkness of their huts, they say a few words upon seeing her brightness, and testify great joy, by motions of their feet and hands, at the first appearance of the new moon. Mr. Bruce never saw them

them pay any attention to the sun, either rising or setting, advancing to or receding from the meridian; but, as far as he could learn, they worship a tree, and likewise a stone, though he never could find out what tree or stone it was, only that it did not exist in the country of Sennaar, but in that where they were born. Their priests seemed to have great influence over them, but through fear only, and not from affection. They are distinguished by thick copper bracelets about their wrists, as also sometimes one, and sometimes two about their ankles.

On the 25th at four o'clock in the afternoon, they set out from the villages of the Nubia, intending to arrive at Basboch, where is the ferry over the Nile; but they had scarcely advanced two miles into the plain, when they were enclosed by a violent whirlwind, or what is called at sea the water-spout. The plain was red earth, which had been plentifully moistened by a shower in the night-time. The unfortunate camel that had been taken by the Cohala seemed to be nearly in the centre of its vortex. It was lifted up and thrown down at a considerable distance, and several of its ribs broken. Although, as far as Mr. Bruce could guess, he was not near the centre, it whirled him off his feet, and threw him down upon his face, so as to make his nose gush out with blood. Two of the servants likewise had the same fate. It plastered them all over with mud, almost as smoothly as could have been done with a trowel. It took away Mr. Bruce's sense and breathing for an instant, and his mouth and nose were full of mud when he recovered. He guesses the sphere of its action to be about 200 feet. It demolished one half of a small hut, as if it had been cut through with a knife, and dispersed the materials all over the plain, leaving the other half standing.

As soon as they recovered themselves, they took refuge in a village, from fear only, for they saw no vestige of any other whirlwind. It involved a great quantity of rain, which the Nuba of the villages told them was very fortunate, as it portended good luck to them, and a prosperous journey; for they said, that had dust and sand arisen with the whirlwind, in the same proportion it would have done had not the earth been moistened, they would all infallibly have been

been suffocated ; and they cautioned them, by saying that tempests were very frequent in the beginning and end of the rainy season, and whenever they should see one of them coming, to fall down upon their faces, keeping their lips close to the ground, and so let it pass ; and thus it would neither have power to carry them off their feet, nor suffocate them, which was the ordinary case.

Their kind landlords, the Nuba, gave them a hearty welcome, and helped them to wash their clothes first, and then to dry them. When Mr. Bruce was stripped naked, they saw the blood running from his nose, and said, they could not have thought that one so white as he was could have been capable of bleeding. They gave them a piece of roasted hog, which they ate, (except Ismael and the Mahometans) very much to the satisfaction of the Nuba. On the other hand, as their camel was lame, they ordered one of their Mahometan servants to kill it, and take as much of it as would serve themselves that night ; they also provided against wanting themselves the next day. The rest they gave among their new acquired acquaintance, the Nuba of the village, who did not fail to make a feast upon it for several days after ; and, in recompence for their liberality, they provided them with a large jar of bouza, not very good, indeed, but better than the well-water. This Mr. Bruce repaid by tobacco, beads, pepper, and slibium, which he saw plainly was infinitely more than they expected. Although they had been a good deal surprised at the sudden and violent effects of the whirlwind of that day, and severely felt the bruises it had occasioned, yet they passed a very social and agreeable evening. Mr. Bruce had seldom, in his life, upon a journey, passed a more comfortable night. He had a very neat, clean hut, entirely to himself, and a Greek servant that sat near him. Some of the Nuba watched for them all night, and took care of their beasts and baggage. They sung and replied to one another alternately, in notes full of pleasant melody, till Mr. Bruce fell fast asleep, involuntarily, and with regret, for, though bruised, they were not fatigued, but rather discouraged, having gone no farther than two miles that day.

The landlord of the hut where Mr. Bruce was asleep, having prepared for their safety and that of their baggage, thought

thought himself bound in duty to go and give immediate information to the prime minister of the unexpected guests that then occupied his house. He found Adelan at supper, but was immediately admitted, and a variety of questions asked him, which he answered fully. He described their colour, their number, the unusual size and number of their fire arms, the poorness of their attire, and, above all, their great cheerfulness, quietness and affability; their being contented with eating any thing, and in particular mentioned the hog's flesh. One man then present testifying abhorrence to this, Adelan said of Mr. Bruce to their landlord, "Why, he is a soldier and a Kafr like yourself. A soldier and a Kafr, when travelling in a strange country, should eat every thing, and so does every other man that is wise; has he not a servant of mine with him?" He answered, "Yes, and a servant of the king too; but he had left them and was gone forward to Sennaar." "Go you with them (says he) and stay with them at Basboch till he had time to send for them to town." He had returned from Aira long before our travellers arose, and told them the conversation, which was great comfort to them all; for they were not much pleased with the king's servant going before, as they had every reason to think he was disaffected towards them.

On the 26th, at six o'clock in the morning, they set out from this village of Nuba, their way being still across this immense plain. All the morning there were terrible storms of thunder and lightning, some rain, and one shower, of so large drops that it wet them to the skin in an instant. It was quite calm, and every drop fell perpendicularly upon them. Mr. Bruce thinks he never in his life felt so cold a rain, yet it was not disagreeable; for the day was close and hot, and they should have wished every now and then to have had a moderate refrigeration; this, however, was rather too abundant. The villages of the Nuba were on all sides throughout this plain. At nine o'clock they arrived at Basboch, which is a large collection of huts of these people, and has the appearance of a town.

The governor, a venerable old man of about seventy, who was so feeble that he could scarcely walk, received them with
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great complacency, only saying, when he took Mr. Bruce by the hand, "O Christian! what dost thou, at such a time, in such a country?" Mr. Bruce was surprised at the politeness of his speech, when he called him Nazarani, the civil term for Christian in the east; whereas Infidel is the general term among these brutish people; but it seems he had been several times at Cairo. Mr. Bruce had here a very clean and comfortable but to lodge in, though they were sparingly supplied with provisions all the time they were there, but never were suffered to fast a whole day together.

Basboch is on the eastern bank of the Nile, not a quarter of a mile from the ford below. The river here runs north and south; towards the sides it is shallow, but deep in the middle of the current; and in this part it is much infested with crocodiles. Sennaar is two miles, and a half S. S. W. of it. They heard the evening drum very distinctly, and not without anxiety, when they reflected to what a brutish people, according to all accounts, they were about to trust themselves.

On the 29th leave was sent them to enter Sennaar. It was not without some difficulty, that Mr. Bruce got his quadrant and heavy baggage safely carried down the hill, for the banks are very steep to the edge of the water. The intention of their assistants was to slide the quadrant down the hill, in its ease, which would have utterly destroyed it; and as their boat was but a very indifferent embarkation, it was obliged to make several turns to and fro before they got all their several packages landed on the western side.

They were conducted by Adelan's servant to a very spacious good house belonging to the Shekh himself, having two stories, a long quarter of a mile from the king's palace. He left a message for them to repose themselves, and in a day or two to wait upon the king, and that he should send to tell them when they were to come to him. This they resolved to have complied with most exactly; but the very next morning, the 30th of April, there came a servant from the palace to summon them to wait upon the king, which they immediately obeyed. Mr. Bruce took with him three servants, black Soliman, Ismael the Turk, and his Greek servant Michael. The palace covers a prodigious

a prodigious deal of ground. It is all of one storey, built of clay, and the floors of earth. The chambers through which they passed were all unfurnished, and seemed as if a great many of them had formerly been destined as barracks for soldiers, of whom Mr. Bruce did not see above fifty on guard. The king was in a small room, not twenty feet square, to which they ascended by two short flights of narrow steps. The floor of the room was covered with broad square tiles; over it was laid a Persian carpet, and the walls hung with tapestry of the same country; the whole very well kept, and in good order.

The king was sitting upon a mattress laid on the ground, which was likewise covered with a Persian carpet, and round him was a number of cushions of Venetian cloth of gold. his dress did not correspond with this magnificence, for it was nothing but a large loose shirt, of Surat blue cotton cloth, which seemed not to differ from the same worn by his servants, except that, all round the edges of it, the seams were double stitched with white silk, and likewise round the neck. His head was uncovered; he wore his own short black hair, and was as white in colour as an Arab. He seemed to be a man about thirty-four; his feet were bare, but covered by his shirt. He had a very plebeian countenance, on which was stamped no decided character; Mr. Bruce should rather guess him to be a soft, timid, irresolute man. At our traveller's coming forward and kissing his hand, he looked at them for a minute as if undetermined what to say. He then asked for an Abyssinian interpreter, as there are many of these about the palace. He said to him in Arabic, "I apprehend I understand as much of that language as will enable me to answer any question you have to put to me." Upon which he turned to the people that were with him, "Down-right Arabic, indeed! You did not learn that language in Habesh?" said he to Mr. Bruce, who answered, "No; I have been in Egypt, Turkey and Arabia, where I learned it; but I have likewise often spoken it in Abyssinia, where Greek, Turkish, and several other languages are used." He said, "Impossible! he did not think they knew any thing of languages, excepting their own, in Abyssinia."

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There were sitting in the side of the room opposite to him, four men dressed in white cotton shirts, with a white shawl covering their heads and part of their face, by which it was known they were religious men, or men of learning, or of the law. One of these answered the king's doubt of the Abyssinians knowledge in languages. "They have languages enough, and you know that Habesh is called the paradise of Asses." During this conversation, Mr. Bruce took the sheriffe of Mecca's letter, also one from the king of Abyssinia; he gave him the king's first, and then the sheriffe's. He took them both as Mr. Bruce gave them, but laid aside the king's upon a cushion till he had read the sheriffe's. After this he read the king's, and called immediately again for an Abyssinian interpreter; upon which Mr. Bruce said nothing, supposing, perhaps, he might choose to make him deliver some message to him in private, which he would not have his people hear. But it was pure confusion and absence of mind, for he never spoke a word to him when he came. "You are a physician and a soldier," says the king. "Both, in time of need," said Mr. Bruce. "But the sheriffe's letter tells me also, that you are a nobleman in the service of a great king that they call Englist-man, who is master of all the Indies, and who has Mahometan as well as Christian subjects, and allows them all to be governed by their own laws." "Though I never said so to the sheriffe, (replied Mr. Bruce) yet it is true; I am as noble as any individual in my nation, and am also servant to the greatest king now reigning upon earth, of whose dominions, it is likewise truly said, these Indies are but a small part."—"How comes it, (says the king) you that are so noble and learned, that you know all things, all languages, and so brave that you fear no danger, but pass, with two or three old men, into such countries as this and Habesh, where Baady, my father, perished with an army? How comes it that you do not stay at home and enjoy yourself, eat, drink, take pleasure and rest, and not wander like a poor man, a prey to every danger?"—"You, Sir, (replied Mr. Bruce) may know some of this sort of men; certainly you do know them; for there are in your religion as well as mine, men of learning, and those too of great rank and nobility, who, on account of sins they have committed,

ted, or vows they have made, renounce the world, its riches and pleasures: They lay down their nobility and become humble and poor, so as often to be insulted by wicked and low men; not having the fear of God before their eyes."

"True these are Dervish," said some that were present. "I am then one of these Dervish, (said Mr. Bruce) content with the bread that is given me, and bound for some years to travel in hardships and danger, doing all the good I can to poor and rich, serving every man, and hurting none." "Tybe! that is well," said the king. "And how long have you been travelling about?" adds one of the others. "Near twenty years," said Mr. Bruce. "You must be very young, (says the king) to have committed so many sins, and so early; they must all have been with women?" "Part of them, I suppose were, (replied Mr. Bruce) but I did not say I was one of those that travelled on account of their sins, but that there were some Dervishes that did so on account of their vows, and some to learn wisdom." Mr. Bruce now withdrew.

The drum beat a little after six o'clock in the evening. They then had a very comfortable dinner sent them, camel's flesh stewed with an herb of a viscous slimy substance, called Bammia. After having dined, and finished the journal of the day, Mr. Bruce fell to unpacking his instruments, the barometer and thermometer first; and, after having hung them up, was conversing with Adelan's servant when he should pay his visit to his master. About eight o'clock came a servant from the palace, telling Mr. Bruce, now was the time to bring the present to the king. He sorted the separate articles with all the speed he could, and they went directly to the palace. The king was then sitting in a large apartment, as far as he could guess, at some distance from the former. He was naked, but had several clothes lying upon his knee, and about him, and a servant was rubbing him over with very stinking butter or grease, with which his hair was dropping as if wet with water. Large as the room was, it could be smelled through the whole of it. The king asked Mr. Bruce if ever he greased himself as he did? Mr. Bruce said, Very seldom, but fancied it would be very expensive. He then told him, that it was elephant's grease, which made people strong,

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and preserved the skin very smooth. Our traveller said he thought it very proper, but could not bear the smell of it, though his skin should turn as rough as an elephant's for the want of it. He said, if Mr. Bruce had used it, his hair would not have turned so red as it was, and that it would all become white presently, when that redness came off. "You may see, (continued he) the Arabs driven in here by the Davaïna, and all their cattle taken from them, because they have no longer any grease for their hair. The sun first turns it red, and then perfectly white; and you will know them in the street by their hair being the colour of yours. As for the smell, you will see that cured presently."

After having rubbed him abundantly with grease, they brought a pretty large horn, and in it something scented, about as liquid as honey. It was plain that civit was a great part of the composition. The king went out at the door, Mr. Bruce supposes into another room, and there two men deluged him over with pitchers of cold water, whilst, as he imagined, he was starknaked. He then returned, and a slave anointed him with this sweet ointment; after which he sat down, as completely dressed, being just going to his women's apartment, where he was to sup. Mr. Bruce told him, he wondered why he did not use rose water as in Abyssinia, Arabia, and Cairo. He said, he had it often from Cairo, when the merchants arrived; but as it was now long since any came, his people could not make more, for the rose would not grow in his country, though the women made something like it of lemon flower.

His toilet being finished, our traveller then produced his present, which he told him the king of Abyssinia had sent to him, hoping that, according to the faith and custom of nations, he would not only protect him while here, but send him safely and speedily out of his dominions into Egypt. He answered, there was a time when he could have done all this, and more, but those times were changed. Sennaar was in ruin, and was not like what it was. He then ordered some perfumed sorbet to be brought for Mr. Bruce to drink in his presence, which is a pledge that your person is in safety. The king thereupon withdrew, and went to his ladies.

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It was not till the eighth of May Mr. Bruce had his audience of Shekh Adelan at Ara, which is three miles and a half from Sennaar ; they walked out early in the morning, for the greatest part of the way along the side of the Nile, which had no beauty, being totally divested of trees, the bottom foul and muddy, and the edges of the water white with small concretions of calcareous earth, which, with the bright sun upon them dazzled and affected their eyes very much. They then struck across a large sandy plain without trees or bushes, and came to Adelan's habitation.

Within the gate was a number of horses, with the soldiers' barracks behind them ; they were all piqueted in ranks, their faces to their master's barracks. It was one of the finest sights Mr. Bruce ever saw of the kind. They were all above sixteen hands high, of the breed of the old Saracen horses, all finely made, and as strong as our coach horses, but exceedingly nimble in their motion ; rather thick and short in the forehind, but with the most beautiful eyes, ears, and heads in the world ; they were mostly black, some of them black and white, some of them milk white foaled, so not white by age, with white eyes and white hoofs, not perhaps a great recommendation.

A steel shirt of mail hung upon each man's quarters opposite to his horse, and by it an antelope's skin made soft like shamoy, with which it was covered from the dew of the night. A head-piece of copper, without crest or plumage, was suspended by a lace above the shirt of mail, and was the most picturesque part of the trophy. To these was added an enormous broad sword in a red leather scabbard ; and upon the pommel hung two thick gloves, not divided into fingers as ours, but like hedgers' gloves, their fingers in one poke. They told Mr. Bruce, that, within that enclosure at Aire, there were 400 horses, which, with the riders, and armour complete for each of them, were all the property of Shekh Adelan, every horseman being his slave and bought with his money.

Adelan was then sitting upon a piece of the trunk of a palm-tree, in the front of one of these divisions of his horses, which he seemed to be contemplating with pleasure ; a number of black people, his own servants and friends, were standing
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ing round him. He had on a long camelet gown, lined with yellow sattin, and a camelet cap like a head piece, with two short points that covered his ears. This, it seems, was his dress, when he rose early in the morning to visit his horses, which he never neglected. The Shekh was a man above six feet high, rather corpulent, had a heavy walk, seemingly more from affectation of grandeur than want of agility. He was about sixty : of the colour and features of an Arab and not of a negro, but had rather more beard than falls to the lot of people in this country ; large piercing eyes, and a determined, though, at the same time, a very pleasing countenance. Upon Mr. Bruce's coming near him, he got up : " You that are a horseman, (says he, without any salutation) what would your king of Habesh give for these horses ?"— " What king (answered Mr. Bruce in the same tone) would not give any price for such horses, if he knew their value ?"

They then went into a large saloon hung round with mirrors and scarlet damask ; in one of the longest sides were two large sofa's covered with crimson and yellow damask, and large cushions of cloth of gold, like to the king's. He now pulled off his camelet gown and cap, and remained in a crimson sattin coat reaching down below his knees, which lapped over at the breast, and was girt round the waist with a scarf or sash, in which he had stuck a short dagger in an ivory sheath, mounted with gold ; and one of the largest and most beautiful amethysts upon his finger that Mr. Bruce ever saw, mounted plain without any diamonds, and a small gold ear-ring in one of his ears.

" Why have you come hither (says he to Mr. Bruce) without arms, and on foot, and without attendants ?" *Yagoube*, " I was told that horses were not kept at Sennaar, and brought none with me." *Adelan*, " You suppose you have come through great dangers, and so you have. But what do you think of me, who am day and night out in the fields, surrounded by hundreds and thousands of Arabs, all of whom would eat me alive if they dared ?" *Yag*. " A brave man, used to command as you are, does not look to the number of his enemies, but to their abilities ; a wolf does not fear ten thousand sheep more than he does one." *Ad*, " True : look out at the door ; these are their chiefs whom I am now tax-

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ing, and I have brought them hither that they may judge from what they see whether I am ready for them or not." Yag. "You could not do more properly; but, as to my own affairs, I wait upon you from the king of Abyssinia, desiring safe conduct through your country, into Egypt, with his royal promise, that he is ready to do the like for you again, or any other favour you may call upon him for." He took the letter and read it. *Ad.* "The king of Abyssinia may be assured I am always ready to do more for him than this. It is true, since the mad attempt upon Sennaar, and the next still madder, to replace old Baady upon the throne, we have had no formal peace, but neither are we at war. We understand one another as good neighbours ought to do; and what else is peace?" Yag. "You know I am a stranger and traveller, seeking my way home. I have nothing to do with peace or war between nations. All I beg is a safe conduct through your kingdom, and the rights of hospitality bestowed in such cases on every common stranger; and one of the favours I beg is, your acceptance of a small present. I bring it not from home; I have been long absent from thence, or it would have been better." *Ad.* "I'll not refuse it, but it is quite unnecessary. I have faults like other men; but to hurt or ransom strangers was never one of them. Mahomet Abou Kalee, my brother, is, however, a much better man to strangers than I am; you will be lucky if you meet him here; if not, I will do for you what I can, when once the confusion of these Arabs is over."

Mr. Bruce gave him the Sherriffe's letter, which he opened, looked at, and laid by without reading, saying only, "Aye, Metical is a good man, he sometimes takes care of our people going to Mecca; for my part I never was there, and probably never shall be." Mr. Bruce then presented his letter from Ali Bey to him. He placed it upon his knee, and gave a slap upon it with his open hand. *Ad.* "What! do you not know, have you not heard, Mahomet Abou Dahab, his Hasmadar, has rebelled against him, banished him out of Cairo, and now sits in his place? But don't be disconcerted at that, I know you to be a man of honour and prudence; if Mahomet, my brother, does not come, as soon as I can get leisure, I will dispatch you." The servant that had conducted Mr. Bruce to Sennaar, and was then with him, went forward close to him, and

said, in a kind of whisper, "Should he go often to the king?" "When he pleases: he may go to see the town, and take a walk, but never alone; and also to the palace, that, when he returns to his own country, he may report he saw a king at Sennaar, that neither knows how to govern, nor will suffer others to teach him; who knows not how to make war and yet will not sit in peace." Mr. Bruce then took his leave of him, but there was a plentiful breakfast in the other room, to which he sent them. At going out, Mr. Bruce took his leave by kissing his hand, which he submitted to without reluctance. "Shekh, (said our traveller) when I pass these Arabs in the square, I hope it will not disoblige you if I converse with some of them out of curiosity?" *Ad.* "By no means, as much as you please; but don't let them know where they can find you at Sennaar, or they will be in your house from morning till night, will eat up all your victuals, and then, in return, will cut your throat, if they can meet you upon your journey."

Mr. Bruce returned home to Sennaar, very well pleased with his reception at Aira. He had not seen since he left Gondar, a man so open and frank in his manners, and who spoke without disguise what apparently he had in his heart.

The next morning, after Mr. Bruce came home from Aira, he was agreeably surprised by a visit from Hagi Belal, to whom he had been recommended by Metical Aga, and to whom Ibrahim Seraff, the English broker at Jidda, had addressed him for any money he should need at Sennar. Belal welcomed him with great kindness, and repeated testimonies of joy and wonder at his safe arrival. He had been down in Atbara at Gerri, or some villages near it, with merchandise, and had not yet seen the king since he came home, but gave Mr. Bruce the very worst description possible of the country, inasmuch that there seemed to be not a spot, but the one he then stood on, in which he was not in imminent danger of destruction, from a variety of independent causes, which it seemed not possibly in his power to avoid. In the evening, he sent Mr. Bruce some refreshments, which he had long been accustomed to; some tea, excellent coffee, some honey and brown sugar, several bottles of rack, likewise nutmegs, cinnamon, ginger, and some very good dates of the dry kind which he had brought from Atbara.

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Hagi Belal was a native of Morocco. He had been at Cairo, and also at Jidda and Mocha. He knew the English well, and professed himself both obliged and attached to them. It was some days before Mr. Bruce ventured to speak to him upon money business, or upon any probability of finding assistance here at Sennaar. He gave him little hopes of the latter, repeating to him what he very well knew about the disagreement of the king and Adelan. He seemed to place all his expectations, and those were but faint ones, in the coming of Shekh Abou Kalec from Kordofan. He said, nothing could be expected from Shekh Adelan without going to Aira, for that he would never trust himself in Sennaar, in this king's life time, but that the minister was absolute the moment he assembled his troops without the town.

One morning he came to Mr. Bruce after having been with the king, when our traveller was himself preparing to go to the palace. He said, he had been sent for upon his account, and had been questioned very narrowly what sort of a man he was. Having answered very favourably, both of him and his nation, he had asked for Metical Aga's letters, or any other letters received concerning him from Jidda: he said, that he had only shewn Metical's letter, wrote in the name of the sheriffe, as also one from himself: that there were several great officers of government present; and the Cadi (whom Mr. Bruce had seen the first time he had been with the king) had read the letters aloud to them all: That one of them had asked, How it came that such a man as our traveller ventured to pass these deserts, with four or five old servants, and what it was he came to see? that he answered, he apprehended his chief object at Sennaar was to be forwarded to his own country. It was also asked, Why Mr. Bruce had not some Englishmen with him, as none of his servants were of that nation, but poor beggarly Kopts, Arabs and Turks, who were none of them of his religion. Belal answered, That travellers through these countries must take up with such people as they can find going the same way; however, he believed some English servants had died in Abyssinia, which country he had left the first opportunity that had offered, being wearied by the perpetual war which prevailed. Upon which the king said, "He has chosen well, when he came into this country
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for peace. You know, Hagi Belal, I can do nothing for him : there is nothing in my hands. I could easier get him back into Abyssinia than forward him into Egypt. Who is it now that can pass into Egypt ?" The Cadi then said, " Hagi Belal can get him to Suakim, and so to Jidda to his countrymen." To which Belal replied, " The king will find some way when he thinks farther of it."

A few days after this, Mr. Bruce had a message from the palace. He found the king sitting alone, apparently much chagrined, and in ill-humour. He asked him, in a very peevish manner, if he was not yet gone ? To which he answered, Your Majesty knows that it is impossible for me to go a step from Senmaar without assistance from you." He again asked him, in the same tone as before, " How he could think of coming that way ?" He said, " Nobody imagined in Abyssinia but that he was able to give a stranger safe conduct through his own dominions." He made no reply, but nodded a sign for him to depart, which he immediately did, and so finished this short, but disagreeable interview.

About four o'clock that same afternoon, Mr. Bruce was again sent for to the palace, when the king told him, that several of his wives were ill, and desired that he would give them his advice, which he promised to do without difficulty, as all acquaintance with the fair sex had hitherto been much to his advantage. He was admitted into a large square apartment very ill lighted, in which were about fifty women, all perfectly black, without any covering but a very narrow piece of cotton rag about their waists. While he was musing whether or not all these might be queens, or whether there was any queen among them, one of them took him by the hand, and led him rudely enough into another apartment. This was much better lighted than the first. Upon a large bench, or sofa, covered with blue surat cloth, sat three persons clothed from the neck to the feet with blue cotton shirts.

One of these, who Mr. Bruce found was the favourite, was about six feet high, and corpulent beyond all proportion. She seemed to him, next to the elephant and rhinoceros, to be the largest living creature he had met with. Her features were perfectly like those of a negro ; a ring of gold passed through

through her under lip, and weighed it down, till, like a flap, it covered her chin, and left her teeth bare, which were very small and fine. The inside of her lip she had made black with antimony. Her ears reached down to her shoulders, and had the appearance of wings; she had in each of them a large ring of gold, somewhat smaller than a man's little finger, and about five inches diameter. The weight of these had drawn down the hole where her ear was pierced so much that three fingers might easily pass above the ring. She had a gold necklace, like what we used to call *Esclavage*, of several rows, one below another, to which were hung rows of sequin pierced. She had on her ancles two manacles of gold, larger than any he had ever seen upon the feet of felons, with which he could not conceive it was possible for her to walk; but afterwards he found they were hollow. The others were dressed pretty much in the same manner; only there was one that had chains which came from her ears to the outside of each nostril, where they were fastened. There was also a ring put through the gristle of her nose, and which hung down to the opening of her mouth. It had altogether something the appearance of a horse's bridle. Upon his coming near them, the eldest put her hand to her mouth and kissed it, saying, at the same time, in very vulgar Arabic, "*Kif halek howaja?*" (How do you do, merchant.) Mr. Bruce never in his life was more pleased with distant salutations than at this time. He answered, "Peace be among you! I am a physician, and not a merchant." Mr. Bruce here omits to enumerate the multitude of their complaints; being a lady's physician, he considers discretion and silence as his first duties.

No horse, mule, ass, or any other beast of burden, breed or even live at Sennaar, or many miles about it. Poultry does not live there. Neither dog nor cat, sheep nor bullock, can be preserved a season there. They must go all, every half year, to the sands. Though all possible care be taken of them, they die in every place where the fat earth is about the town during the first season of the rains. Two grey-hounds which Mr. Bruce brought from Atbara, and the mules which he brought from Abyssinia, lived only a few weeks after he arrived. They seemed to have some inward complaint, for nothing appeared outwardly. Several kings have tried to
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keep lions, but no care could prolong their lives beyond the first rains. Shekh Adelan had two, which were in great health, being kept with his horses at grass in the sands but three miles from Sennaar: neither rose, nor any species of jessamine, grow here; no tree but the lemon flowers near the city, that ever Mr. Bruce saw; the rose has been often tried, but in vain.

Sennaar is in lat. $13^{\circ} 34' 36''$ north, and in long. $33^{\circ} 30' 30''$ east from the meridian of Greenwich. It is on the west side of the Nile, and close upon the banks of it. The ground whereon it stands rises just enough to prevent the river from entering the town, even in the height of the inundation, when it comes to be even with the street.

The country around Sennaar is exceedingly pleasant in the end of August and beginning of September; Mr. Bruce means so far as the eye is concerned: instead of that barren, bare waste, which it appeared on their arrival in May, the corn now sprung up, and covering the ground, made the whole of this immense plain appear a level, green land, interspersed with great lakes of water, and ornamented at certain intervals with groups of villages the conical tops of the houses presenting, at a distance, the appearance of small encampments. Through this immense extensive plain, winds the Nile, a delightful river there, above a mile broad, full to the very brim, but never overflowing. Every where on these banks are seen numerous herds of the most beautiful cattle of various kinds, the tribute recently extorted from all the Arabs, who, freed from their vexations, return home with the remainder of their flocks in peace, at as great a distance from the town, country, and their oppressors, as they possibly can.

War and treason seem to be the only employment of this horrid people, whom Heaven has separated by almost impassable deserts, from the rest of mankind, confining them to an accursed spot, seemingly to give them earnest in time of the only other worse which he has reserved to them for an eternal hereafter. The dress of the Sennaar is very simple. It consists of a long shirt of blue Surat cloth called Marowty, which covers them from the lower part of the neck down to

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their feet, but does not conceal the neck itself; and this is the only difference between the men's and the women's dress; that of the women covers the neck altogether, being buttoned like ours. The men have sometimes a sash tied about their middle; and both men and women go barefooted in the house, even those of the better sort of people. Their floors are covered with Persian carpets, especially the women's apartments. In fair weather, they wear sandals; and without doors they use a kind of wooden patten, very neatly ornamented with shells. In the greatest heat at noon, they order buckets of water to be thrown upon them instead of bathing. Both men and women anoint themselves, at least once a day, with camels grease mixed with civit, which they imagine softens their skin, and preserves them from cutaneous eruptions of which they are so fearful, that the smallest pimple in any visible part of their body keeps them in the house till it disappears: For the same reason, though they have a clean shirt every day, they use one dipt in grease to lie in all night, as they have no covering but this, and lie upon a bull's hide tanned, and very much softened by this constant greasing, and at the same time very cool, though it occasions a smell that no washing can free them from.

The poorer sort live upon millet, made into bread or flour. The rich make a pudding of this, toasting the flour before the fire, and pouring milk and butter into it; besides which, they eat beef, partly roasted and partly raw. Their horned cattle are the largest and fattest in the world, and are exceedingly fine; but the common meat sold in the market is camel's flesh. The liver of the animal, and the square rib, are always eaten raw through the whole country. Mr. Bruce never saw one instance where it was dressed with fire: it is not then true that eating raw flesh is peculiar to Aoyssinia: it is practised, in this instance of camel's flesh, in all the black countries to the westward. Hog's flesh is not sold in the market; but all the people of Sennaar eat it publicly: men in office, who pretend to be Mahometans, eat theirs in secret.

On the 7th of August, Mr. Bruce was informed by Hagi Belal, that Shekh Fidele of Teawa had been several days in the palace with the king, and had informed him, that Mr. Bruce

Bruce was laden with money, besides a quantity of cloth of gold the richest he had ever seen, which the king of Abyssinia had destined as a present to him, but which our traveller had perverted to his own use: He added, that the king had expressed himself in a very threatening manner, and that he was very much afraid he was not in safety if Shekh Adelan was gone from Aira. Upon this Mr. Bruce desired Hagi Belal to go to the palace, and obtain for him an audience of the king. In vain he represented to our traveller the risk he ran by this measure; he persisted in his resolution; he was tied to the stake. To fly was impossible; and he had often overcome such dangers by braving them.

Belal went then unwillingly to the palace. Whether he delivered the message he knows not, but he returned, saying, the king was busy, and could not be seen. Mr. Bruce had, in the interim, sent Soliman to the Gindi or Sed el Coom, telling him his difficulties, and the news he had heard. In place of returning an answer, he came directly to him himself, and was sitting with him when Hagi Belal returned, who appeared somewhat disconcerted at the meeting. Gindi chid Hagai Belal very sharply, asking him what good all that tittle-tattle did either him or Mr. Bruce, and insinuated pretty plainly, that he believed Hagi Belal did this in concert with the king, to extort some present from our traveller. After some further conversation, Gindi took his leave, and Mr. Bruce attended him down stairs, with many professions of gratitude; and, at the door, he said, in a very low voice, to our traveller, "Take care of you Belal, he is a dog worse than a Christian."

It was now the 20th; and, for several days since Adelan's departure, no provisions were sent to Mr. Bruce's house, as before was usual. Money, therefore, became absolutely necessary, not only for their daily subsistence, but for camels to carry their baggage, provisions, and water across the desert. He now despaired absolutely of assistance of any kind from the king; and an accident that happened made him lay all thoughts aside of ever troubling him more upon the subject. There are at Mecca a number of black eunuchs, whose services are dedicated to that temple, and the sepulchre of

of Medina. Part of these, from time to time, procure liberty to return on a visit to their respective homes, or to the large cities where they were sold from, on the Niger, Bornou, Tocrur, and Tombucto, where they beg donations for the holy places, and frequently collect large sums of gold, which abounds in these towns and territories. One of these, called Mahomet Towash, which signifies Eunuch, had returned from a begging voyage in Sudan, or Nigritia, and was at Sennaar exceedingly ill with an intermitting fever. The king had sent for Mr. Bruce to visit him, and the bark, in a few days, had perfectly recovered him. A proportional degree of gratitude had, in return, taken place in the breast of Mahomet, who, going to Cairo, was exceedingly desirous of taking Mr. Bruce with him; and this desire was increased, when he heard he had letters from the Sheriffe of Mecca, and was acquainted with Metical Aga, who was his immediate master.

Nothing could be more fortunate than this rencounter at such a time; for he had spare camels in great plenty; and the Arabs, as he passed them, continued giving him more, and supported him with provisions wherever he went; for these people, being accounted sacred, and regarded with a certain religious awe, as being in the immediate service of their prophet, till now used to pass inviolate wherever they were going, however unsettled the times, or however slenderly attended.

Every thing was now ready, Mr. Bruce's instruments and baggage packed up, and the 25th of August fixed when they should begin their journey to Atbara. Mahomet, who passed a great part of his time at Mr. Bruce's house, had not been seen by them for several days, which they did not think extraordinary, being busy themselves, and knowing that his trade demanded continual attendance on the great people; but they were exceedingly surpris'd at hearing from his black Soliman, that he and all his equipage had set out the night of the 20th for Atbara. This they found afterwards was at the earnest persuasion of the king, and was at that time a heavy disappointment to Mr. Bruce, however fortunate it turned out afterwards.

The night of the 25th, which was to have been that of their departure, Mr. Bruce sat late in his room up stairs, in the back, or most private part of their house. His little company was holding with him a most melancholy council on what had so recently happened, and in general, upon the unpromising face of their affairs. Their single lamp was burning very low, and suggested to them that it was the hour of sleep; to which, however, none of them were very much inclined. Georgis, a Greek, who, on account of the soreness of his eyes, had staid below in the dark, and fallen asleep, came running up stairs in a great fright, and told them he had been awakened by the noise of men endeavouring to force open the door: that he hearkened a little, and found there were many of them. Their arms were all ready; and they snatched them up and ran towards the door; but Mr. Bruce stopt, and planted them upon the first landing-place in the stair case, as he wished not to fire till the enemy was fairly in the house, that no excuse might remain for this their violation of hospitality. By this time, the assailants had forced the outer gate, and were then in the lodge, endeavouring to do the same by the inner, having put a handspike under it to lift it up from the hinges. "Are you not madmen, (said Mr. Bruce) and weary of your lives, to attempt to force Adelan's house, when there are within it men abundantly provided with large fire arms, that, upon one discharge through the door, will lay you all dead where you now stand?" "Stand by from the door, (cries Ishmael) and let me fire. These black Kafirs don't yet know what my blunderbuss is." They had been silent from the time Mr. Bruce had spoken, and had withdrawn the handspike from under the door. "Ullah! Ullah! (cries one of them softly) how sound you sleep! we have been endeavouring to waken you this hour. The king is ill: tell Yagoube to come to the palace, and open the door instantly." "Tell the king (said Mr. Bruce) to drink warm water, and I will see him in the morning." At this time one of Mr. Bruce's servants fired a pistol in the air, out of an upper window; upon which they all ran off. They seemed to be about ten or twelve in number, and left three handspikes behind them. The noise of the pistol brought the guard, or patrole, in about half an hour, who carried intelligence to the Sid el Coom, our traveller's friend, by whom he was informed in the morning,

ing, that he had found them all out, and put them in irons; that Mahomet, the king's servant, who met them at Teawa, was one of them; and that there was no possibility now of concealing this from Adelan, who would order him to be impaled.

Things were now come to such a crisis, that Mr. Bruce was determined to leave his instruments and papers with Kittou, Adelan's brother, or with the Sid el Coom, while he went to Shaddly to see Adelan. But first he thought it necessary to apply to Hagi Belal to try what funds they could raise to provide the necessaries for their journey. Mr. Bruce shewed him the letter of Ibrahim, the English broker of Jidda, of which before he had received a copy and repeated advices, and told him he should want 200 sequins at least, for his camels and provisions, as well as for some presents that he should have occasion for, to make his way to the great men in Atbara. Never was surprise better counterfeited than by this man. He held up his hands in the utmost astonishment, repeating, 200 sequins! over twenty times, and asked Mr. Bruce if he thought money grew upon trees at Sennaar: that it was with the utmost difficulty he could spare him 20 dollars, part of which he must borrow from a friend.

This was a stroke that seemed to insure Mr. Bruce's destruction, no other resource being now left. They were already indebted to Hagi Belal twenty dollars for provision: they had seven mouths to feed daily; and as they had neither meat, money, nor credit, to continue at Sennaar was impossible. They had seen, a few nights before, that no house could protect them there; and to leave Sennaar was, in their situation, as impossible as to stay there. They had neither camels to carry their provisions and baggage, nor skins for their water, nor, indeed, any provisions to carry, nor money to supply them with any of these, nor knew any person that could give them assistance nearer than Cairo, from which they were then distant about 17° of the meridian, or above 1000 miles in a straight line; great part of which was through the most barren, inhospitable deserts in the world, destitute of all vegetation, and of every animal that had the breath of life. Hagi Belal was inflexible: he began now to be weary of our travellers, to see them but seldom; and there was great appearance of his soon withdrawing himself entirely.

Mr.

Mr. Bruce's servants began to murmur: some of them had known of his gold chain from the beginning, and these, in the common danger, imparted what they knew to the rest. In short, he resolved, though very unwillingly not to sacrifice his own life and that of his servants, and the finishing his travels, now so far advanced, to childish vanity. He determined therefore to abandon his gold chain, the honourable recompence of a day full of fatigue and danger. Whom to entrust it to was the next consideration; and, upon mature deliberation, he found it could be to nobody but Hagi Belal, bad as he had reason to think he was. However, to put a check upon him, he sent for the Sid el Coom, in whose presence he repeated his accusation against Belal; he read the Scraff's letter in his favour, and the several letters that Belal had written him whilst he was at Gondar, declaring his acceptance of the order to furnish him with money when he should arrive at Sennaar; and he upbraided him in the strongest terms with duplicity and breach of faith.

But all that he could say was very far short of the violent expostulation from the Gendi that immediately followed. He gave Hagi Belal many not obscure hints, that he looked upon this injury as done to himself, and would repay him: that though he had done this to please the king, the time might not be far off when that favour would be of very little use to him; on the contrary, might be a reason for stripping him of all he had in the world. The force of these arguments seemed to strike Hagi Belal's imagination very powerfully. He even offered to advance 50 sequins, and to see if he could raise any more among his friends. The Gendi (a rare instance in that country) offered to lend him fifty. But the dye was now cast, the chain had been produced and seen, and it was become exceedingly dangerous to carry such a quantity of gold in any shape along with him. He therefore consented to sell it to Hagi Belal in presence of the Gendi, and they immediately set about the purchase of necessaries; with this proviso, that if Adelan, upon Mr. Bruce's going to Shaddly, did furnish him with camels and necessaries, so much of the chain should be returned.

It was the 5th of September that they were all prepared to leave the capital of Nubia, an inhospitable country from the beginning,

beginning, and which, every day they continued in it, had engaged them in greater difficulties and danger. They flattered themselves, that, once disengaged from this bad step, the greatest part of their sufferings was over; for they apprehended nothing but from men, and, with very great reason, thought they had seen the worst of them.

In the evening Mr. Bruce received a message from the king to come directly to the palace. He accordingly obeyed, taking two servants along with him, and found him sitting in a little, low chamber, very neatly fitted up with chintz, or printed calico curtains, of a very gay and glaring pattern. He was smoking with a very long Persian pipe through water, was alone, and seemed rather grave than in ill humour. He gave Mr. Bruce his hand to kiss as usual; and, after pausing a moment without speaking, (during which our traveller was standing before him), a slave brought him a little stool, and set it down just opposite to him; upon which he said, in a low voice, so that Mr. Bruce could scarcely hear him, "Fudda, sit down," pointing to the stool. He sat down accordingly. "You are going, I hear (says he) to Adelan." Our traveller answered, "Yes." "Did he send for you?" He said, "No; but, as he wanted to return to Egypt, he expected letters from him in answer to those he brought from Cairo." *King.* "You are not so gay as when you first arrived here." *Ya.* "I have had no very great reason." Their conversation was now taking a very laconic and serious turn, but he did not seem to understand the meaning of what he said last. *K.* "Adelan has sent for you by my desire; Wed Abroff and all the Jehaina Arabs have rebelled, and will pay no tribute. They say you have a quantity of powerful fire-arms with you, that will kill twenty or thirty men at a shot." *Ya.* "Say fifty, or sixty, if it hits them." *K.* "He is therefore to employ you with your guns: to punish those Arabs, and spoil them of their camels, part of which he will give to you." Mr. Bruce presently understood what he meant, and only answered, "I am a stranger here, and desire to hurt no man. My arms are for my own defence against robbery and violence." At this instant the Turk, Hagi Ishmael, cried from without the door, in broken Arabic, "Why did you not tell those black Kafirs, you sent to rob and murder us the other night, to stay a little longer, and you

would have been better able to judge what our fire-arms can do, without sending for us either to Abroff or Adelan. By the head of the prophet ! let them come in the day time, and I will fight ten of the best you have in Sennaar." K. " The man is mad, but he brings me to speak of what was in my head when I desired to see you. Adelan has been informed that Mahomet, my servant, who brought you from Teawa, has been guilty of a drunken frolic at the door of his house, and has sent soldiers to take him to-day with two or three others of his companions." Yz. " I know nothing about Mahomet, nor do I drink with him, or give him drink. About half a score of people broke into Adelan's house in the night, with a view to rob and murder us, but I was not at the pains to fire at such wretches as these. Two or three servants with sticks were all that were needful. I understand, indeed, that Shekh Adelan is exceedingly displeased that I did not fire at them, and has sent to the Gindl, ordering him to deliver two of them to him to-morrow to be executed publicly before the door of his house on the market-day. But this, you know, is among yourselves. I am very well pleased none of them are dead, as they might have been, by my hands on those of my people." K. " True ; but Adelan is not king, and I charge you, when you see him to ask for Mahomet's life, or a considerable deal of blame will fall upon you. When you return back, I will send him to conduct you to the frontiers of Egypt." Upon this Mr. Bruce bowed and took his leave. He went home perfectly determined what he was to do. He had now obtained from the king an involuntary safeguard till he should arrive at Adelan's ; that is, he was sure that, in hopes Mr. Bruce might procure a reprieve for Mahomet, no trap would be laid for him on the road. He determined therefore to make the best use of his time ; and every thing being ready, they loaded the camels, and sent them forward that night to a small village called Soliman, three or four miles from Sennaar : and having settled his accounts with Hagi Belal, he received back six links, the miserable remains of one hundred and eighty-four, of which his noble chain once consisted.

This traitor kept him the few last minutes to write a letter to the English at Jidda, to recommend him for the service he had done Mr. Bruce at Sennaar ; and this he complied with, that he might inform the broker Ibrahim that he had received

no money from his correspondent, and give him a caution, never again to trust Hagi Belal in similar circumstances.

After leaving Sennaar, Mr. Bruce was overtaken on the road by a black slave, who at first gave him some apprehension, as he was alone with only one Barbarian, a Nubian servant, by the side of his camel, and was going slowly. Upon inquiry, he found him to be sent by Hagi Belal, with a basket containing some green tea and sugar, and four bottles of rack, in return for his letter. He sent back the messenger, and gave the care of the basket to his own servant; and, about ten o'clock, in the evening of the 5th of September, they all met together joyfully at Soliman.

On the 8th of September, they left the village of Soliman; and about three o'clock in the afternoon, came to Wed el Tumbel, which is not a river, as the name would seem to signify, but three villages situated upon a pool of water, nearly in a line from north to south.

On the 4th of October, after meeting with various adventures in the course of their journey, but none of them of any material consequence, they arrived at Chendi, or Chundi, which is a large village, the capital of its district, the government of which belongs to Sittina, (as she is called), which signifies the Mistress, or the Lady, she being sister to Wed Ageeb, the principal of the Arabs in this country. She had been married, but her husband was dead. She had one son, Idris Wed el Faal, who was to succeed to the government of Chendi upon his mother's death, and who, in effect, governed all affairs of his kindred already.

Chendi has in it about 250 houses, which are not all built contiguous, some of the best of them being separate; and that of Sittina's is half a mile from the town. There are two or three tolerable houses, but the rest of them are miserable hovels, built of clay and reeds. Sittina gave Mr. Bruce one of these houses, which he used for keeping his instruments and baggage from being pilfered or broken: he slept abroad in the tent, and it was even there hot enough. The women of Chendi are esteemed the most beautiful in Atbara, and the men the greatest cowards. This is the character they bear among their countrymen; but they had little opportunity of verifying

verifying either. On their arrival at Chendi, they found the people very much alarmed at a phenomenon, which, though it often happens, by some strange inadvertency had never been observed, even in this serene sky. The planet Venus appeared shining, with undiminished light all day, in defiance of the brightest sun, from which she was but little distant. Though this phenomenon be visible every four years, it filled all the people, both in town and country, with alarm. They flocked to Mr. Bruce in crowds from all quarters to be satisfied what it meant; and, when they saw his telescopes and quadrant, they could not be persuaded but that the star had become visible by some correspondence and intelligence with him, and for his use. The bulk of the people in all countries is the same: they never foretel any thing but evil. The very regular and natural appearance of this planet was immediately converted, therefore, into a sign that there would be a bad harvest next year, and scanty rains: that Abou Kalec with an army would depose the king, and overrun all Atbara; whilst some threatened Mr. Bruce as a principal operator in bringing about these disasters. On the other hand, without seeming over-solicitous about his vindication, he insinuated among the better sort, that this was a lucky and favourable sign, a harbinger of good fortune, plenty, and peace. The clamour upon this subsided very much to his advantage, the rather, because Sittina and her son Idris knew certainly that Mahomet Abou Kalec was not to be in Atbara that year.

On the 12th of October, Mr. Bruce waited upon Sittina, who received him behind a screen, so that it was impossible either to see or figure her face; he observed, however, that there were apertures so managed in the screen that she had a perfect view of him. She expressed herself with great politeness; talked much upon the terms in which Adelan was with the king, and wondered exceedingly how a white man like him should venture so far in such an ill-governed country. "Allow me, Madam, (said Mr. Bruce) to complain of a breach of hospitality in you, which no Arab has been yet guilty of towards me." "Me! (said she) that would be strange indeed, to a man that bears my brother's letter. How can that be?" "Why, you tell me, Madam, that I

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am a white man, by which I know that you see me, without giving me the like advantage. The queens of Sennaar did not use me so hardly; I had a full sight of them without having used any importunity." On this she broke out into a great fit of laughter; then fell into a conversation about medicines to make her hair grow, or rather to hinder it from falling off. She desired Mr. Bruce to come to her the next day: that her son Idris would be then at home from the Howat; and that he very much wished to see him. She that day sent them plenty of provisions from her own table.

On the 13th, it was so excessively hot that it was impossible to suffer the burning sun. The poisonous simoom blew likewise as if it came from an oven. Their eyes were dim, their lips cracked, their knees tottering, their throats perfectly dry, and no relief was found from drinking an immoderate quantity of water. The people advised Mr. Bruce to dip a sponge in vinegar and water, and hold it before his mouth and nose; and this greatly relieved him. In the evening he went to Sittina. Upon entering the house, a black slave laid hold of him by the hand, and placed him in a passage, at the end of which were two opposite doors. Mr. Bruce did not well know the reason of this; but staid only a few minutes, when he heard one of the doors at the end of the passage open, and Sittina appeared magnificently dressed, with a kind of round cap of solid gold upon the crown of her head, all beat very thin, and hung round with sequins; with a variety of gold chains, solitaires, and necklaces of the same metal, about her neck. Her hair was plaited in ten or twelve small divisions like tails, which hung down below her waist; and over her was thrown a common cotton white garment. She had a purple silk stole, or scarf, hung very gracefully upon her back, brought again round her waist, without covering her shoulders or arms. Upon her wrists she had two bracelets like handcuffs, about half an inch thick, and two gold manacles of the same at her feet, fully an inch diameter, the most disagreeable and awkward part of her dress. Mr. Bruce expected she would have hurried through with some affectation of surprise. On the contrary, she stood in the middle of the passage, saying, in a very grave manner, "Kifhalec,—how are you?" Mr. Bruce thought this was an opportunity of kissing
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ing her hand, which he did, without her shewing any sort of reluctance. "Allow me as a physician, Madam, (said Mr. Bruce) to say one word." She bowed with her head, and said, "Go in at that door, and I will hear you." The slave appeared, and carried him through a door at the bottom of the passage into a room, while her mistress vanished in at another door at the top, and there was the screen he had seen the day before, and the lady sitting behind it.

She was a woman scarcely forty, taller than the middle size, had a very round plump face, her mouth rather large, very red lips, the finest teeth and eyes he had seen; but at the top of her nose, and between her eye-brows, she had a small speck made of cohol or antimony, four-corner'd, and of the size of the smallest patches our women used to wear; another rather longer upon the top of her nose, and one on the middle of her chin.

Sittina. "Tell me what you would say to me as a physician"—*Ya.* "It was, Madam, but in consequence of your discourse yesterday. That heavy gold cap with which you press your hair will certainly be the cause of a great part of it falling off." *Sitt.* "I believe so; but I should catch cold, I am so accustomed to it, if I was to leave it off. Are you a man of name and family in your own country?" *Ya.* "Of both, Madam." *Sitt.* "Are the women handsome there?" *Ya.* "The handsomest in the world, Madam; but they are so good, and so excellent in all other respects, that nobody thinks at all of their beauty, nor do they value themselves upon it." *Sitt.* "And do they allow you to kiss their hands?" *Ya.* "I understand you, Madam, though you have mistaken me. There is no familiarity in kissing hands, it is a mark of homage, and distant respect paid in my country to our sovereigns, and to none earthly besides." *Sitt.* "O yes! but the kings." *Ya.* "Yes, and the queens too always on the knee, Madam: I said our sovereigns, meaning both king and queen. On her part, it is a mark of gracious condescension, in favour of rank, merit, and honourable behaviour; it is a reward for dangerous and difficult services, above all other compensation." *Sitt.* "But do you know that no man ever kissed my hand but you?" *Ya.* "It is impossible I should know that, nor is it material.

material. Of this I am confident, it was meant respectfully, cannot hurt you, and ought not to offend you." *Sitt.* "It certainly has done neither: but I wish very much Idris my son would come and see you, as it is on his account I dressed myself to day."

Ya. "I hope, Madam, when I do see him he will think of some way of forwarding me safely to Barbar, in my way to Egypt." *Sitt.* "Safely! God forgive you! you are throwing yourself away wantonly. Idris himself, king of this country, dares not undertake such a journey. But why did not you go along with Mahomet Towash? He set out only a few days ago for Cairo, the same way you are going, and has, I believe, taken all the Hybeers with him. Go call the porter" said she to her slave. When the porter came, "Do you know if Mahomet Towash is gone to Egypt?" "I know he is gone to Barbar," says the porter; "the two Mahomets, and Abdel Jeleel, the Bishareen, are with him." "Why did he take all the Hybeers?" said *Sittina*. "The men were tired and discouraged, (answered the porter), by their late ill-usage from the Cubbaeeth, and being stripped of every thing, they wanted to be at home." *Sitt.* "Somebody else will offer, but you must not go without a good man with you: I will not suffer you. These Bishareen are people known here, and may be trusted: but while you stay let me see you every day, and if you want any thing, send by a servant of mine. It is a tax, I know, improperly laid upon a man like you, to ask for every necessary; but Idris will be here, and he will provide you better." He went away upon this conversation, and soon found that Mahomet Towash had so well followed the direction of the Mek of Sennaar, as to take all the Hybeers, or guides of note with him on purpose to disappoint Mr. Bruce.

Chendi is in lat. $16^{\circ} 38' 35''$ north, and $33^{\circ} 24' 45''$ east of the meridian of Greenwich.

On the 20th of October, in the evening, they left Chendi, and rested two miles from the town; and, on the 9th of November, having received all the assurances possible from Idris, the guide whom Mr. Bruce had engaged at Chendi, that he would live and die with them, after having repeated the prayer

prayer of peace, they put on the best countenance possible, and committed themselves to the desert. There were Ishmael the Turk, two Greek servants besides Georgis, who was almost blind and useless. Two barbarians, who took care of the camels, Idris, and a young man, a relation of his, who joined him at Barbar, to return home; in all nine persons, eight only of whom were effective. They were all well-armed with blunderbusses, swords, pistols, and double-barrelled guns, except Idris and his lad, who had lances, the only arms they could use.

On the 14th, they were at once surprised and terrified by a sight surely one of the most magnificent in the world. In that vast expanse of desert, from W. and to N. W. of them, they saw a number of prodigious pillars of sand at different distances, at times moving with great celerity, at others stalking on with a majestic slowness; at intervals they thought they were coming in a very few minutes to overwhelm them; and small quantities of sand did actually more than once reach them. Again they would retreat so as to be almost out of sight, their tops reaching to the very clouds. There the tops often separated from the bodies; and these, once disjoined, dispersed in the air, and did not appear more. Sometimes they were broken near the middle, as if struck with a large cannon shot. About noon they began to advance with considerable swiftness upon them, the wind being very strong at north. Eleven of them ranged along side of them, about the distance of three miles. The greatest diameter of the largest appeared to Mr. Bruce at that distance as if it would measure ten feet. They retired from them with a wind at S. E. leaving an impression on our traveller's mind to which he can give no name, though surely one ingredient in it was fear, with a considerable deal of wonder and astonishment. It was in vain to think of flying; the swiftest horse, or fastest sailing ship, could be of no use to carry them out of this danger, and the full persuasion of this rivetted him as if to the spot where he stood, and he let the camels gain on him so much in his state of lameness, that it was with some difficulty he could overtake them.

From this day, subordination, though not entirely ceased, was fast on the decline : all was discontent murmuring, and fear. Their water was greatly diminished, and that terrible death by thirst began to stare them in the face ; and this was owing in a great measure to their own imprudence. Ishmael, who had been left sentinel over the skins of water, had slept so soundly, that this had given an opportunity to a Tucorory to open one of the skins that had not been touched, and serve himself out of it at his own discretion. Mr. Bruce supposes, that, hearing somebody stir, and fearing detection, he had withdrawn himself as speedily as possible, without taking time to tie the mouth of the girba, which they found in the morning with scarce a quart of water in it.

The phenomenon of the simoom, unexpected by them, though foreseen by Idris, caused them all to relapse into the greatest despondency. It still continued to blow, so as to exhaust them entirely, though the blast was so weak, as scarcely would have raised a leaf from the ground. At 20 minutes before five the simoom ceased, and a comfortable and cooling breeze came by starts from the north, blowing five or six minutes at a time, and then falling calm.

That desert, which did not afford inhabitants for the assistance or relief of travellers, had greatly more than sufficient for destroying them. Large tribes of Arabs, two or three thousand, encamped together, were cantoned, as it were, in different places of this desert, where there was water enough to serve their numerous herds of cattle ; and these, as their occasion required, traversed in parties all that wide expanse of solitude, from the mountains near the Red Sea east, to the banks of the Nile on the west, according as their several designs or necessities required. These were Jabeleen Arabs, those cruel, barbarous fanaticks, that deliberately shed so much blood during the time they were establishing the Mahometan religion. If it had been their lot to fall among these people, and it was next to a certainty that they were at that very instant surrounded by them, death was certain, and their only comfort was, that they could die but once, and that to die like men was in their own option. Indeed, without considering the bloody character which these wretches naturally bear,

bear, there could be no reason for letting them live: They could be of no service to them as slaves; and to have sent them into Egypt, after having first rifled and destroyed their goods, could not be done by them but at a great expense, to which well-inclined people only could have been induced from charity; and of that last virtue they had not even heard the name. Their only chance then remaining was, that their number might be so small, that, by our travellers' great superiority in fire-arms and in courage, they might turn the misfortune upon the aggressors, deprive them of their camels, and means of carrying water, and leave them scattered in the desert, to that death which either of them, without an alternative, must suffer. However, they were lucky enough not to meet with any of those barbarians.

On the 22d, their camels were reduced to five; and it did not seem that these were capable of continuing their journey much longer. In that case, no remedy remained, but that each man should carry his own water and provisions. Now, as no one man could carry the water he should use between well and well, it was more than probable that distance would be doubled by some of the wells being found dry: and if that was the case, yet, as it was impossible for a man to carry his provisions who could not walk without any burden at all, their situation seemed to be most desperate.

On the 27th, at half past five in the morning, they attempted to raise their camels by every method they could devise, but all in vain; only one of them could get upon his legs, and that one did not stand two minutes till he kneeled down and could never be raised afterwards. Every way they turned themselves, death now stared them in the face. They had neither time nor strength to waste, nor provisions to support them. They then took the small skins that had contained their water, and filled them as far as they thought a man could carry them with ease; but after all these shifts, there was not enough to serve them three days, at which he had estimated their journey to Syene, which still however was uncertain. Finding, therefore, the camels would not rise, they killed two of them, and took so much flesh as might serve for the deficiency of bread, and, from the stomach of each of the camels,

got about four gallons of water. The small remains of their miserable stock of black bread and dirty water, the only support they had hitherto lived on amidst the burning sands, and their spirits likewise were exhausted by an uncertainty of their journey's end. They were surrounded among those terrible and unusual phenomena of Nature, which Providence, in mercy to the weakness of his creatures, has concealed far from their sight, in deserts almost inaccessible to them. Nothing but death was before their eyes : All Mr. Bruce's papers, his quadrant, telescopes, and time-keeper, were now to be abandoned to the rude and ignorant hands of robbers, or to be buried in the sands. However, on the 29th, to their inexpressible joy, they saw the palm-trees at Assouan, and a quarter before ten arrived in a grove of palm-trees on the north of that city.

They were not long arrived, before they received from the Aga about fifty loaves of fine wheat bread, and several large dishes of dressed meat. But the smell of these last no sooner reached Mr. Bruce than he fainted upon the floor. He made several trials afterwards, with no better success for the first two days ; nor could he reconcile himself to any sort of food but toasted bread and coffee. His servants had none of these qualms, for they partook largely and greedily of the Aga's bounty.

Mr. Bruce was obliged to keep his room five or six days after his arrival ; but, as soon as he got better, he and his servants set out on dromedaries, in order to recover his baggage. The Aga had sent four servants belonging to his stables to accompany them ; active, lively, and good-humoured fellows. About twelve o'clock, they got into a valley, and hid themselves in the lowest part of it, under a bank, for the night was exceeding cold ; Mr. Bruce was afraid, that they had passed his baggage in the dark, as none of them were perfectly sure of the place ; but as soon as light came, they recovered their track as fresh and entire as when they made it. After having gone about half an hour in their former footsteps, they had the unspeakable satisfaction to find the quadrant and the whole baggage ; and by them the bodies of their slaughtered camels, a small part of one of them having been torn by the haddaya, or kite.

Mr. Bruce

Mr. Bruce, after having received a very kind reception at this place, on the 11th of December, set out for Cairo, where he arrived on the 10th of January, 1773. Ali Bey no longer held the sovereign power at Cairo. His son-in-law, Mahomet Bey, had expelled him and usurped his power. Mahomet Bey, when informed of Mr. Bruce's arrival, sent a party of men, who, with much rudeness and harsh treatment, conducted our traveller into his presence. He received him kindly, permitted him to sit, and ordered him a present of a basket of oranges with a thousand sequias at the bottom. Our countryman refused the money, as he could be supplied by bankers at Cairo to whom he had letters of credit. Mahomet then presented him with a castan, or robe, in testimony of his kindness, and expressed a wish, that he would ask some other favour. Mr. Bruce mentioned the inconveniences and oppressions to which the English trade was subjected at Jidda; and wished Mahomet to permit them to resort to Suez as their mart; and he readily obtained a firman to that purpose: and it would appear, that, in this he performed a very signal service. But he does not boast of having yet received any adequate recompence. After some stay there, he proceeded to Alexandria, where he arrived without any thing material occurring. At length, our traveller happily reached Marseilles, where he finishes the account of his travels.

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